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A HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND

FROM THE FIRST

INVASION BY THE ROMANS

BY

JOHN LINGARD, D.D.

VOLUME VII.

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HISTORY

OF

ENGLAND.

CHAP. I.

EDWARD VI.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperor.	*Kings of France.*	*King of Spain.*	*Queen of Scotland.*	*Popes.*
Charles V.	Francis..... 1547. Henry II.	Charles V.	Mary.	Paul III....1549. Julius III.

HERTFORD IS MADE PROTECTOR AND DUKE OF SOMERSET—WAR WITH SCOTLAND—BATTLE OF PINKENCLEUGH—PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION—BOOK OF COMMON PRAYER—LORD ADMIRAL ARRESTED AND BEHEADED—DISCONTENT AND INSURRECTIONS—FRANCE DECLARES WAR—PROTECTOR IS SENT TO THE TOWER AND DISCHARGED—PEACE—DEPRIVATION OF BISHOPS—TROUBLES OF THE LADY MARY—FOREIGN PREACHERS—SOMERSET ARRESTED AND EXECUTED—NEW PARLIAMENT—WARWICK'S AMBITION—DEATH OF THE KING.

CHAP. I.

In former times the right of appointing the council of regency, and the officers of state during the minority of the sovereign, had been

CHAP. I.

The council of regency.

claimed and exercised by the house of lords:[1] but by the statute of the 28th of the late reign Henry himself had been empowered to provide for the administration of the government, during the nonage of his successor, either by letters patent, or by his last will signed with his own hand. In the second part of that instrument, which the chancellor had produced to the two houses of parliament as the royal testament, the king was made to avail himself of this privilege; and to ordain that the sixteen individuals, whom he had named his executors, should constitute the privy council, and exercise the authority of the crown, until his son, who was then in his tenth, should have completed his eighteenth year. These were Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Wriothesley, lord chancellor, the lord St. John, great master, the earl of Hertford, great chamberlain, and uncle to the young king, the lord Russel, privy seal, the viscount Lisle, high admiral, Tunstal, bishop of Durham, sir Anthony Brown, master of the horse, sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, Mr. justice Bromley, sir Edward North, chancellor of the court of augmentations, sir William Paget, chief secretary, sir Anthony Denny, and sir William Herbert, chief gentlemen of the privy chamber, sir Edward Wotton, treasurer of Calais, and Dr. Wotton, dean of Canterbury and York.

[1] See this History, vol. v. p. 80. 226.

The publication of these names provoked the censure of many, the surprise of all. It was remarked that they were not only new men, raised to honours and office by the judgment or partiality of the late king, but for the most part the very individuals, who had constantly attended him during his sickness, and had possessed exclusively the benefit of access to his person. To aid them in cases of difficulty, the will had appointed a second council, consisting of twelve persons, the earls of Arundel and Essex; sir Thomas Cheyney, treasurer, and sir John Gage, comptroller of the household; sir Anthony Wingfield, vice-chamberlain, sir William Petre, chief secretary, sir Richard Rich, sir John Baker, sir Ralph Sadler, sir Thomas Seymour, another uncle of the young king, sir Richard Southwell, and sir Edmund Peckham. But these were not invested with any real authority. They could only tender their advice on occasions when it might be required.[2]

The earl of Hertford protector.

1547. Jan. 1.

The reader has already seen that the new king was proclaimed on the Monday after his father's death. On the same day the executors, being assembled in the Tower, "resolved not only to "stand to, and maintain the last will and testa- "ment of their master the late king, and every "part and article of the same, to the uttermost "of their power, wits and cunning, but also that

[2] Rym. xv. 114. 116.

CHAP. I.

" every one of them present should take a cor-
" poral oath upon a book, for the more assured
" and effectual accomplishment of the same."[3]
Scarcely, however, had they taken this oath,
when they were called upon to break it by the
Feb. 1. ambition of the earl of Hertford: whose partisans
pretended, that for convenience and dispatch it
would be necessary to appoint one of their num-
ber, to transact business with the foreign en-
voys, and to represent on other occasions the
person of the young sovereign. By Wriothesley
the project was opposed with boldness and
warmth. He appealed to the words and the
spirit of the will, by which all the executors were
invested with equal powers: and he contended
that by giving themselves a superior they would
invalidate that, which was the only foundation of
their present authority. But to argue was fruit-
less. A majority had been previously secured:
the chancellor withdrew his opposition, on an
understanding that the new officer should not
presume to act without the assent of the ma-
jority of the council: and the earl of Hertford
was immediately appointed protector of the
realm, and guardian of the king's person. His
talents were perhaps unequal to the situation:
but two circumstances pleaded in his favour.
He was uncle to the king; he could not boast
of royal blood in his veins. The first naturally

[3] Council book, Harl. MS. 352. Bromley and the two Wottons were absent.

interested him in the welfare of his nephew: the second forbade him to aspire to the throne.

In the afternoon the executors conducted the young Edward into the chamber of presence; where all the lords temporal and spiritual waited to receive him. Each in succession approached the king, kissed his hand kneeling, and said, "God save your grace." The chancellor then explained to them the dispositions in the will of their late sovereign, and the resolution of his executors to place the earl of Hertford at their head. They unanimously signified their assent: the new protector expressed his gratitude; and Edward, pulling off his cap, said: "We heartily "thank you, my lords all: and, hereafter, in all "that ye shall have to do with us for any suit or "causes, ye shall be heartily welcome." The appointment of Hertford was announced by proclamation, and was received with transports of joy by all, who were attached to the new doctrines, or who sought to improve their fortunes at the expense of the church.[4]

Creation of new titles.

In this instance the members of the council had been driven by the ambition of Hertford to

[4] Burnett, ii. 4. Stow, 593. Strype, 14. That the office of protector was the object of Hertford's ambition, and that he had previously intrigued to obtain it, is evident from a letter written to him afterwards by Paget. "Remember what you promised me in the "gallery at Westminster, before the breath was out of the body of "the king that dead is: remember what you promised me immediately "after, devising with me about the place which you now occupy." July 7, 1549. Apud Strype, ii. Rec. p. 109.

CHAP. I.

violate the known will of their late sovereign: in another and more doubtful matter they were induced by views of personal interest to execute with scrupulous exactitude certain designs, which he was said to have formed. By a clause in the body of the will, Henry had charged them with the obligation of ratifying every gift, of performing every promise, which he should have made before his death. What these gifts and promises might be, must, it was presumed, be known to Paget, Herbert, and Denny, who had stood high in the confidence, and had been constantly in the chamber of the dying monarch. These gentlemen were therefore interrogated before their colleagues: and from their depositions it was inferred, that the king had intended to give a dukedom to Hertford, to create the earl of Essex, his queen's brother, a marquess, to raise the viscount Lisle and lord Wriothesley to the higher rank of earls, and to confer the title of baron on sir Thomas Seymour, sir Richard Rich, sir John St. Leger, sir William Willoughby, sir Edward Sheffield, and sir Christopher Danby: and that, to enable the new peers to support their respective titles, he had destined for Hertford an estate in land of 800l. per annum, with a yearly pension of 300l. from the first bishopric which should become vacant, and the incomes of a treasurership, a deanery, and six prebends in different cathedrals: for each of the others a proportionate increase of yearly income;

CHAP. I.

and for the three deponents, Paget, Herbert, and Denny, 400 pounds, 400 marks, and 200 pounds.[5] Two out of the number, St. Leger and Danby, had sufficient virtue to refuse the honours and revenues which were allotted to them: Hertford was created duke of Somerset, Feb. 17. Essex marquess of Northampton, Lisle earl of Warwick, Wriothesley earl of Southampton, and Seymour, Rich, Willoughby and Sheffield, barons of the same name: and to all these, with the exception of the two last, and to Cranmer, Paget, Herbert, and Denny, and more than thirty other persons, were assigned in different proportions manors and lordships out of the lands, which had belonged to the dissolved monasteries, or still belonged to the existing bishoprics.[6] But sir Thomas Seymour was not satisfied: as uncle of the king he aspired to office no less than rank: and to appease his discontent the new earl of Warwick resigned in his favour the patent of high admiral, and was indemnified with that of great chamberlain, which Somerset had exchanged for the dignities of

[5] Burnet, ex lib. Conc. ii. 7. It is observable that the deponents say: "the king being on his death-bed put in mind of what he had "promised, ordered it to be put in his will, that his executors should "perform every thing that should appear to have been promised by "him." Ibid. Such a clause, indeed, appears in the body of the will. But how could it be there, if Henry ordered it to be inserted, only when he was on his death-bed, that is, about the 28th of January? The will purports to have been executed three weeks before, on the 30th of December.

[6] See the names in Strype, ii. 78.

CHAP. I.

lord high treasurer, and earl marshal, forfeited by the attainder of the duke of Norfolk.[7] These proceedings did not pass without severe animadversion. Why, it was asked, were not the executors content with the authority which they derived from the will of their late master? Why did they reward themselves beforehand, instead of waiting till their young sovereign should be of age, when he might recompense their services according to their respective merits?

Coronation of Edward.

The interment of Henry was performed in the usual style of royal magnificence;[8] but in the coronation of his son, men observed with surprise several departures from ancient precedent.

Feb. 20.

That the delicate health of the young king might

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[7] Rym. xv. 124. 127. 130. Stow, 593.

[8] The body lay in state in the chapel of Whitehall, which was hung with black cloth. Eighty large wax tapers were kept constantly burning: twelve lords mourners sat around, within a rail; and every day masses and a dirge were performed. At the commencement of the service, Norroy, king at arms, called aloud: "Of your charity pray for the soul of the high and mighty prince, "our late sovereign lord, Henry VIII." On the 14th of February, the body was removed to Sion house, on the 15th to Windsor, and the next day was interred in the midst of the choir, near to the body of Jane Seymour. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, preached the sermon, and read the funeral service. When he cast the mould into the grave, saying, pulvis pulveri, cinis cineri, the lord great master, the lord chamberlain, the treasurer, comptroller, and gentlemen ushers, broke their staves into three parts over their heads, and threw the fragments upon the coffin. The psalm, "de Profundis," was then said: and Garter, king at arms, attended by the archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishop of Durham, immediately proclaimed the style of the new sovereign. See Sandford, 492. Strype, ii. Rec. 3—17.

not suffer from fatigue, the acccustomed ceremony was considerably abridged: and under pretence of respect for the laws and constitution of the realm, an important alteration was introduced into that part of the form, which had been devised by our Saxon ancestors, to put the new sovereign in mind that he held his crown by the free choice of the nation. Hitherto it had been the custom for the archbishop, first to receive the king's oath to preserve the liberties of the realm, and then to ask the people if they were willing to accept him, and obey him as their liege lord. Now the order was inverted: and not only did the address to the people precede the oath of the king, but in that very address they were reminded, that he held his crown by descent, and that it was their duty to submit to his rule. "Sirs," said the metropolitan, "I "here present king Edward, rightful and un- "doubted inheritor, by the laws of God and "man, to the royal dignity and crown imperial "of this realm, whose consecration, inunction, "and coronation, is appointed by all the nobles "and peers of the land to be this day. Will "ye serve at this time, and give your good "wills and assents to the same consecration, "inunction, and coronation, as by your duty of "allegiance ye be bound to do?" When the acclamations of the spectators had subsided, the young Edward took the accustomed oath, first on the sacrament, and then on the book of the

CHAP. I.

gospels. He was next anointed after the ancient form: the protector and the archbishop placed on his head successively three crowns, emblematic of the three kingdoms of England, France, and Ireland; and the lords and prelates first did homage two by two, and then in a body promised fealty on their knees.[9] Instead of a sermon, Cranmer pronounced a short address to the new sovereign, telling him that the promises which he had just made, could not affect his right to sway the sceptre of his dominions. That right he, like his predecessors, had derived from God: whence it followed, that neither the bishop of Rome, nor any other bishop, could impose conditions on him at his coronation, nor pretend to deprive him of his crown on the plea that he had broken his coronation oath. Yet these solemn rites served to admonish him of his duties, which were, "as God's vicegerent "and Christ's vicar, to see that God be wor- "shipped, and idolatry be destroyed; that the "tyranny of the bishop of Rome be banished, "and images be removed: to reward virtue, and "revenge vice; to justify the innocent and re- "lieve the poor; to repress violence, and exe- "cute justice. Let him do this, and he would "become a second Josias, whose fame would

Addres of Cranmer.

[9] Compare the form in Rymer, vii. 158, with that in Burnet, ii. Records, 93. and Strype's Cranmer, 142. Strype's Memorials, ii. App. 30.

" remain to the end of days." The ceremony was concluded with a solemn high mass, sung by the archbishop.[10]

The chancellor removed.

As soon as Henry VI. had been crowned at the age of eight years, his uncle, the duke of Glocester, was compelled to resign the office of protector, and to content himself with the title of prime counsellor.[11] But this precedent did not accord with the ambitious views of Somerset, who instead of descending from the height to which he had risen, aspired to render himself entirely independent of his colleagues. In the attempt he could rely on the cordial support of Cranmer, and of the partisans of the reformation: but he anticipated a formidable opposition from the legal knowledge and undaunted mind of the chancellor, the new earl of Southampton. The conduct of that nobleman during the last reign, was an earnest of resistance of any measure which might tend to additional innovations in religion: and his influence had been proved on a recent occasion, when to the mortification of Somerset, he had reduced the office of protector to a mere title without actual authority. But the imprudence of Southampton furnished his enemies with weapons against himself. Unable to attend at the same time the daily deliberations of the council, and his duties in the chancery, he had, without consulting his col- Feb. 18.

[10] Strype's Cranmer, 144.

[11] Rot. Parl. iv. 337

CHAP. I.

leagues, put the great seal to a commission, empowering in the king's name four masters to hear all manner of causes in his absence, and giving to their decrees the same force as if they had been pronounced by the chancellor himself, provided that before enrolment they were ratified with his signature. A petition againt this arrangement was presented by several lawyers at the secret suggestion of the protector: by
Feb. 28. the council it was referred to the judges: and the judges twice returned the same answer, that the chancellor, by affixing the great seal without sufficient warrant to the commission, had been guilty of an offence against the king, which at common law was punishable with the loss of office, and fine and imprisonment at the royal
March 6. pleasure. In his own defence Southampton argued, that the commission was legal, and that he had been competent to issue it without requesting the assent of his colleagues: that, even admitting it to be illegal, they could only revoke it, to which he had no objection: that he held his office by patent from the late king, and that they, as executors, were not authorised by the will to deprive him of it. Finding, however, that it was in vain to contend against the majority, he made his submission, and was suffered to retire to his residence at Ely house. The same evening he resigned the seal, was constituted a prisoner within his own house, and received an order to wait the decision of the coun-

cil respecting the amount of his fine.[12] What precedent the chancellor might have for his conduct, is uncertain. The commission, which he had issued without warrant, seems unjustifiable: but his deprivation for a mere error in judgment, was censured as harsh and tyrannical.

Somerset made independent of the council.

The next measure adopted by Somerset disclosed the real cause of Southampton's disgrace. Though the duke possessed the title of Protector, he had been compelled to accept it on the condition, that he should never act without the assent of the majority of the council: now he procured letters patent under the great seal, conferring on himself alone the whole authority of the crown. This extraordinary instrument confirmed his former appointment, and ratified all his acts under it: it swept away the two separate councils appointed by the will: confounded the executors and their advisers under the common name of counsellors to the king; and authorized the protector to swell their number to an unlimited extent by the addition of such persons as he might think proper, and to select from the whole body a few individuals, who should form the privy council. It did not, however, bind him to follow their advice. He was still empowered to act independently, and in every case to decide according to his own judgment, till the king should have completed

March 13.

[12] Burnet, ii 15. Records, 96.

CHAP. I.

his eighteenth year.[13] Two months had not yet elapsed since the death of Henry: and, in that short space, the whole frame of government settled by his will had been dissolved, the authority with which he had invested his executors had been suppressed, by the very men to whom he had given his confidence, and who had solemnly sworn to fulfil his intentions. It was asked on what principle of law or reason the present revolution had been effected. If the will possessed any force, the executors could not transfer to one person all those powers which it had confided to the joint wisdom of sixteen; if it did not, then they were unauthorized individuals, and incompetent to new-model the government of the realm.

Negociation with France.

It was observed, that the intelligence of the death of Henry had made a deep impression on the mind of the king of France. That monarch entertained a notion that the duration of their lives was limited to the same year; and sought in vain to divert his melancholy by change of residence, and the pleasures of the chase. At the same time he appeared to feel an affection for the son of his former friend: a proposal was

March 11.

made and accepted to renew the alliance between the crowns; and messengers had already

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[13] Burnet, ii. 15. Records, 98. It was signed by Somerset himself, Cranmer, St. John, Russel, Northampton, Brown, and Paget, executors, and by Cheyney, one of their advisers.

CHAP. I.

been appointed to receive the oaths of the two monarchs, when Francis expired at Rambouillet, about two months after the death of his English brother.[14] His son and successor Henry II. pursued a very different policy, under the guidance of the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorrain. He felt a deep interest in the fortunes of the infant queen of Scotland: and, when the treaty was offered to him for signature, refused to shackle himself with engagements, which might prevent him from espousing her cause. Still appearances of amity were preserved. As Francis had ordered a solemn service to be performed for Henry in the cathedral of Paris, so, to return the compliment, Cranmer was employed to sing a mass of requiem for Francis in the church of St. Paul.[15] But the sequel shewed, that the jealousy of the French cabinet was not without foundation. The protector was at the very time busily employed in levying troops at home: his secret agents hired bands of discharged veterans in Germany, Italy, and Spain: and an active correspondence was kept up between the council and the murderers of cardinal Bethune in Scotland. But to introduce these new allies to the notice of the reader, it will be necessary to revert to the year 1544.

March 31.

June 19.

It was in that year that Henry, foiled by the cardinal in his attempt to obtain the custody of

Treaty with the murderers of Bethune.

[14] Rym. xv. 139—142. 149.

[15] Stow, 594.

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the young queen, ordered the earl of Hertford to invade Scotland at the head of a powerful army: and at the same time the chief of the family of Wishart joined with the master of Rothes, sir William Kirkaldy, and others, in an offer to the king of England, to seize or kill Bethune, while he was travelling through the county of Fife.[16] But the prelate escaped the snares of his enemies; and two years later condemned George Wishart, a young but celebrated preacher of the new Gospel, to be hanged and burnt for sedition and heresy. The execution of Wishart was followed by the assassination of the cardinal. The chief of the murderers were the same persons, or relatives of the same persons, who had been engaged in the former conspiracy against his life: "stirred up by the "Lord," if we may believe Fox;[17] but, if credit be due to other writers, by private resentment, religious hatred, and the hope or promise of English gold.[18] Profiting of the negligence of the warder, they entered the castle of St. Andrew's at an early hour; and slew the cardinal before he had left his bed-chamber. At the first alarm the citizens hastened to the defence of their archbishop: at the sight of the dead body suspended from a window, they retired to their homes. The castle had been lately fortified and provisioned: Knox, the Scottish reformer, to

1546. March 1.

May 30.

[16] Keith, 44. [17] Fox, 526. [18] Keith, 49.

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shew his approbation of "the godly fact," led one hundred and forty of his disciples to the aid of the murderers; and a resolution was formed by the whole body to defend themselves against all opponents, and to solicit the protection of the king of England. Neither did the treaty of Campes disappoint their hopes. If the Scots were included in it, yet Henry would only bind himself to abstain from hostilities, provided no additional provocation were given; and, on the other side, the earl of Arran, the governor, refused to accept of any peace, unless the Scottish fortresses, in possession of the English, were restored, and the murderers of Bethune were abandoned to their fate.

After some negociation he sat down before the castle: but though he bore with patience the severity of the winter from November till February, though he repulsed an English squadron conveying money and military stores, the obstinacy of the garrison defeated every attempt; and he was at last compelled to break up the siege, that he might preside at a convention of the three estates in the capital. The death of Henry made no alteration in the policy of the English cabinet. The protector hastily concluded two treaties with the murderers: by the first of which they bound themselves to procure, with all their power, the marriage of their infant sovereign with Edward VI., and never to surrender the castle during her minority to any

1547. February.

March 9.

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Scotsman without a previous licence in writing from the king and the protector: by the second they engaged to give effectual aid to the English army which should enter Scotland, for the purpose of obtaining possession of the young queen, and to deliver the castle to English commissioners, as soon as she should come into the hands of Edward VI. or the marriage between them should be solemnized. The English government in return granted pensions to each of the chiefs, and undertook to pay half-yearly the wages of a garrison of one hundred and twenty men.[19]

March 15.

They are reduced by the governor.

The second of these treaties was hardly signed, before it was treacherously communicated to the governor. From it he discovered the object of the protector; and immediately published a proclamation, ordering all fencible men to assemble, on forty days' notice, at a given place with provisions for a month, that they might be prepared to repel the threatened invasion of their country. For greater security he applied to the new king of France, who cheerfully confirmed the ancient alliance between the two kingdoms, and added a promise of succour both in men and money. The irruptions of the English marchers had called Arran to the borders, where he pro-

March 19.

[19] Rym. xv. 132. 144. The pension to the master of Rothes was 280*l.*; to Kirkaldy, 200*l.* per annum. For the pay of the garrison, &c. they received in February 1180*l.*, and in May 1300*l.* Burnet, ii. 8. 31.

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posed to besiege Langhope and Cawmyllis: but thence he was summoned to St. Andrew's by the arrival of Strozzi, prior of Capua, with a fleet of French gallies. The combined forces besieged the castle: a considerable breach was made by the French artillery: and the garrison surrendered with a promise of their lives. The prisoners were conveyed to France, and placed at the disposal of Henry: Arran recovered his eldest son, who had been detained a captive ever since the assassination, and demolished the works, that the place might not hereafter fall into the hands of the English, and be held by them to the terror of the open country.[20]

June.

July 30.

The protector invades Scotland.

The month of August expired, before the protector had completed the preparations for his intended expedition. Taking with him the earl of Warwick, as second in command, he crossed the Tweed at the head of twenty thousand men, and directed his march upon Edinburgh; while the fleet, of twenty-four gallies and an equal number of store ships under the lord Clinton, crept along the shore without losing sight of the army.[21] To meet this invasion Arran had dispatched the fire-cross from clan to clan, and had ordered every Scotsman to join his standard at Musselburgh: but he soon found the multitude too numerous for any

Sept. 2.

[20] Epist. Reg. Scot. ii. 380. Keith, 53. Lesley, 461.

[21] See the numbers in Hollingshed, 980.

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useful purpose, and, having selected thirty thousand men, dismissed the rest to their homes.

Sept. 9. The two armies were soon in sight, and a bloody rencounter between the Scottish and English cavalry at Falside, taught them to respect each other.[22]

Sept. 10. The next morning Arran passed the Eske; and the protector, disappointed by this movement, took possession of a neighbouring eminence, called Pinkencleugh. I shall not attempt to describe the confusion of the great battle which followed. At first victory appeared to favour the Scots: and the charge of the English cavalry was received with so much steadiness by the pikemen, that the assailants fled, the lord Gray, their commander, was wounded in the mouth, and several of the English standards were taken. But the advance of the pursuers was checked by the discharges of musketry from the Spanish and Italian mercenaries: they were raked by the cannon from a galley near the shore, and exposed to the destructive fire of a battery planted on the eminence: and the confusion was increased by vollies of arrows which the English archers shot over the ranks of the foreign auxiliaries. The fugitives were

[22] Haywood tells us that the loss of the Scots was thirteen hundred men, of the English, one Spanish hackbutter wounded, and three cavalry officers taken in the pursuit. Haywood, 282. Lesley, on the contrary, says that the loss was equal, about one thousand men on each side. Lesley, 462.

soon able to rally; the protector led the main army to the attack; and the Scots wavered, broke, and fled. The pursuit was continued for several hours, and the slain on the part of the vanquished amounted to eight thousand men. The earl of Huntley, chancellor of Scotland, the lords Yester and Wemyss, and the master of Semple were among the prisoners.[23]

He returns to England.

From the field of battle the conqueror marched to Leith, spent four days in plundering the town, and the neighbouring villages, and hastily retraced his steps, followed by Arran at the head of a small but active body of cavalry. This sudden retreat after so brilliant a victory, surprised both his friends and foes. It could not originate from want of provisions, or the intemperance of the season, or the approach of a superior enemy. By some it was said that, intoxicated with vanity, he was eager to enjoy the applause of the people, and to receive the thanks of his nephew: by others it was believed that the secret intrigues of his brother the lord admiral had induced him to forego the advantages of victory, and to hasten back to the court. The expedition was begun and ended within the rapid course of sixteen days.

Religious innovations.

The late king was doomed to the usual fate of despotic monarchs after their deaths. The very men, who during his life had been the obse-

[23] Lesley, 464. Buchan. l. xv. Hollingsh. 984. Hayward, 285.

CHAP. I.

quious ministers of his will, were now the first to overturn his favourite projects. Somerset and his associates had already established a different form of government; they undertook to establish a different religious creed. Under Henry they had deemed it prudent to conceal their attachment to the new gospel; now freed from restraint, they openly professed themselves its patrons, and aided its diffusion with all the influence of the crown. Their zeal was the more active, as it was stimulated by the prospect of reward. For though they were the depositaries of the sovereign authority, they had yet to make their private fortunes; and for that purpose looked with eagerness to the possessions of the church, from which, though much had been torn during the havoc of the last reign, much still remained to be gleaned.[24] From the young king they could experience no opposition now; they feared no resentment hereafter. The men to whom his education had been intrusted by Henry, were zealous, though secret partisans of the reformed doctrines. They had made it their chief care to transfuse the new opinions into the mind of their royal pupil: Edward already believed that the worship, so rigorously enforced by his father, was idolatrous; and there could be little doubt, that his early prepossessions would, as he advanced in age, acquire strength

[24] Heylin, 33. Godwin, 88. 91.

from the industry of his teachers, and the approbation of his counsellors.

Still, to change the established creed during his minority, must have appeared an undertaking of some difficulty and danger. There was no certainty that the people would pay to the protector and his advisers that deference, which had been extorted by the theological despotism of the late monarch: and a second pilgrimage of grace, excited by religious innovations, might speedily overturn their authority. On this account they determined to proceed with steady but cautious steps. Among their own colleagues there were only two, of whose sentiments they were doubtful, Wriothesley and the bishop of Durham. The first, as the reader has seen, was already excluded from the council: pretexts were invented to confine the prelate almost entirely to his diocese; and the conduct of the business was committed to the policy and moderation of the archbishop of Canterbury.

New commissions to the bishops.

That prelate began the attempt by giving to his brother bishops a very intelligible hint, that the possession of their sees depended on their compliance with the pleasure of the council. Arguing that his ecclesiastical authority, since it emanated from the crown, must have expired with the late king, he petitioned to be restored to his former jurisdiction, and accepted a new commission to execute the functions of an archbishop, till such commission should be revoked

1547. Feb. 7.

CHAP. I.

by the sovereign.[25] Many, probably all, of his colleagues, were compelled to follow the example of the metropolitan.

Visitation of dioceses.

The next step was to establish a royal visitation. For that purpose the kingdom was divided into six circuits, to each of which was assigned a certain number of visitors, partly clergymen, and partly laymen. The moment they arrived in any diocese, the exercise of spiritual authority by every other person ceased. They summoned before them the bishop, the clergy, and eight, six, or four of the principal householders from each parish, administered the oath of allegiance and supremacy, required answers upon oath to every question which they thought proper to put, and exacted a promise of obedience to the royal injunctions.[26] These injunctions amounted in number to thirty-seven: they regarded matters of religious practice and doctrine: and were for the most part so framed, that under the pretext of abolishing abuses, they might pave the way for subsequent innovations. With them was delivered a book of homilies to be read in every church on Sundays and holidays, with an order that each clergyman should provide for himself, and each parish for the congregation, one copy of the paraphrase of Erasmus on the New Testament. But the same policy, which thus supplied books of instruction, was careful

[25] Wilkins, iv. 2.

[26] Wilkins, iv. 11. 14. 17. Collier, ii. Records, 59.

to limit the number of instructors: and the power of preaching was by successive restrictions confined at last to such clergymen only as should obtain licences from the protector or the metropolitan.[27] The object was evident: the people heard no other doctrines than those, which were contained in the homilies, for the most part the composition of the archbishop, or which were delivered by the preachers, whose duty it was to echo his opinions, and to inveigh against the more ancient creed.

Opposition of Gardiner.

Among the prelates there was no individual, whom the men of the new learning more feared, or those of the old learning more respected, for his erudition and abilities, his spirit and influence, than Gardiner, bishop of Winchester. That prelate before the visitation of his diocese had obtained copies of the homilies and the paraphrase, and immediately commenced a long and animated controversy with the protector and the archbishop. He maintained that the two books in several instances contradicted each other: that they inculcated doctines irreconcilable with

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[27] Wilk. iv. 27. 30. Even the very bishops could not preach in their own dioceses without license. See two instances in Strype, ii. 90. Coverdale was so delighted with the injunctions, the homilies, and the paraphrase, that he pronounced the young king to be "the "high and chief admiral of the great navy of the Lord of Hosts, "principal captain and governor of us all under him; the most noble "ruler of his ship, even our most comfortable Noah, whom the "eternal God hath chosen to be the bringer of us unto rest and "quietness." Apud Strype, ii. 65.

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the creed established by act of parliament; and that they contained errors, which he deemed himself able to demonstrate to the conviction of any reasonable man. In his letter to the protector he urged with much force, that Edward was too young to understand, Somerset too much occupied to study, subjects of controversy: that it was imprudent to disturb the public peace during the king's minority, for the sole purpose of supporting the theological fancies of the metropolitan: that injunctions issued by the king could not invalidate acts of parliament: and that as cardinal Wolsey had incurred a præmunire, though he acted under the royal license, so every clergyman, who taught the doctrines in the homilies and paraphrase, would be liable to the penalties enacted by the statute of the six articles, though he might plead a royal injunction in his favour. To Cranmer he wrote in a different tone, defying him to prove the truth of certain doctrines inculcated in the book of homilies, and reproaching him with duplicity, in now reprobating the opinions which he had so zealously taught during the life of the late king.[28] In consequence of these letters he was

He is imprisoned.

[28] "Which if it had been so" (if the doctrine in the late king's book had been erroneous), "I ought to think your grace would not "for all princes christened, being so high a bishop as ye be, have "yielded unto. For obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus. "And therefore after your grace hath four years continually lived "in agreement of that doctrine, under our late sovereign lord, now

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summoned before the council, and required to promise obedience to the royal injunctions. He replied that he was not bound to answer, unless the injunctions were tendered to him. Let them wait till the visitors arrived in his diocese. If he should then refuse, they might determine whether that refusal were a contempt of the royal authority or not. But this objection was overruled: Cranmer glady embraced any pretext to silence so dangerous an opponent during the approaching parliament; and Gardiner, though he could not be charged with any offence against the law, was committed to the Fleet, and detained a close prisoner till the end of the session.[29]

A parliament. Nov. 4.

The proceedings of this parliament are deserving of the reader's attention. 1. The subsidy of tonnage and poundage had been levied during

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"so suddenly after his death to write to me, that his highness was "seduced, it is, I assure you, a very strange speech." Strype's Cranmer, App. p. 74.

[29] See the correspondence in Fox, ii. 35—70. During Gardiner's confinement, attempts were made to obtain his co-operation in the new plan of reform. On one occasion the archbishop told him that "he liked nothing unless he did it himself." He replied that "he "was not guilty of such obstinacy: and that he had never been "author yet of any one thing either temporal or spiritual: for which "he thanked God." A hint was given that his compliance might be rewarded with a place in the council, and an addition to his income. But he answered indignantly, that his character and conscience forbade it: and that, "if he agreed on such terms, he should deserve "to be whipped in every market town in the realm, and then to be "hanged for an example, as the veriest varlet, that ever was bishop "in any realm christened." Ibid. 64, 65.

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Subsidy.

so many reigns, that it began to be considered the right of the crown. Henry VIII. had received it for several years before it was vested in him by any act of the legislature: but now the lords and commons, reverting to the practice of more ancient times, were careful to mark its real origin, by passing a bill, which gave it to the new king during the term of his natural life.[30]

Grant of chauntries.

2. Many of the chauntries, colleges, and free chapels, though given to Henry VIII. by a late act, had escaped the rapacious grasp of that monarch. It was now proposed to place these, with all the funds destined for the support of obits, anniversaries, and church lights, and all guild lands possessed by fraternities for the same purpose, at the disposal of the king, that he might employ them in providing for the poor, augmenting the income of vicarages, paying the salaries of preachers, and endowing free schools for the diffusion of learning. The archbishop, aware of the real object of the bill, spoke against it at first with some warmth. But the harpies of the court were eager to pounce on their prey; he deemed it prudent to withdraw his opposition: and it was passed in the lords by a triumphant majority.[31] In the commons a

[30] St. 1 Ed. VI. 12. The tonnage was one shilling for every aulme of Rhenish wine, three for every tun of other wine, except sweet wine, which paid six shillings. The poundage was one shilling in twenty, on the value of all goods exported and imported. Aliens paid two shillings on the exportation of pewter and tin.

[31] On the first division in the lords the minority consisted of the

strong objection was made to that clause which went to deprive the guilds of their lands; but the leaders of the opposition, the members for Lynn and Coventry, were silenced by a promise that the crown should restore to those towns the lands of which they might be deprived by the act. A saving clause was added to secure to all persons such lands, tenements, tithes and rents, as had been already granted to them either by the late or the present king.[32]

Repeal of new treasons.

3. But if the ministers sought to provide for the sovereign and for themselves, they were careful to repair those breaches in the constitution, which had been made by the despotism of the last reign. All felonies created since the 1st of Henry VIII. and all treasons created since the 25th of Edward III. were at once erased from the statute book; the privilege of clergy, with the exception of a few cases, was restored; in convictions of treason two witnesses were required: the laws against the lollards, the prohibition of reading the scriptures, and of printing, selling or retaining certain English publications, and the statute of the six articles, and that which gave to the royal proclamations the

bishops of Canterbury, London, Ely, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, and Chichester. At the last Canterbury and Worcester were not in the house, and Norwich voted with the court. Journals, 308. 313.

[32] St. 1 Ed. VI. 1. The chauntries and free chapels were valued at 2593*l.* per annum, and sold for 46,249*l.* 14*s.* Strype, ii. Rec. 52. A great number of grammar schools were founded chiefly out of the chauntry lands. Id. 535.

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force of law, were repealed: and the act, which empowered the king to annul all statutes passed before he was twenty-four years of age, was explained to mean, that he might deprive them of force after that term, but could not invalidate them as to their effects during the intermediate period.

Petition of clergy refused.

4. The convocation had been assembled at the same time as the parliament; and the members of the lower house, anxious to recover their former share in the exercise of the legislative power, petitioned to be united to the house of commons, or, if that might not be granted, to be allowed a negative on all bills respecting religion. To this petition no answer was returned: but two questions, concerning the lawfulness of marriage in the clergy, and of communion under both kinds, were submitted to their consideration. The first of these was carried in the affirmative by a majority of almost two thirds; and a bill in its favour was introduced into the house of commons; but its advocates, whether they apprehended an obstinate opposition from the lords, or were content with the advantage which they had gained, permitted the matter to sleep for the present session. The second was approved unanimously; and a bill was framed on that decision. It stated, that the ministering of the blessed sacrament to all christian people under both kinds, of bread and wine, is more agreeable to its first institution, and more con-

formable to the common practice of the apostles and the primitive church for five hundred years; and therefore enacts, that the said most blessed sacrament shall be commonly delivered, and ministered to the people under both kinds. It permits, however, communion under one kind, when necessity may require it; and professes not to censure any foreign church, which may retain the contrary practice. To neutralize the opposition of the prelates, who were hostile to this bill, it was artfully appended to another, which they most anxiously sought to carry, prohibiting under pain of fine and imprisonment the application of scurrilous and offensive language to the sacrament of the eucharist. Thus coupled together as one act, they passed both houses, and received the royal assent.[33]

Election of bishops.

5. In conformity with the opinion so often inculcated by archbishop Cranmer, it was declared that all jurisdiction both spiritual and temporal is derived from the king; and on that account the election of bishops was withdrawn from the deans and chapters, as a useless and unmeaning form, and vested immediately in the crown: and it was ordered that all citations and processes of archbishops and bishops, which used to run in their names, should thenceforth be made in the name of the king, and that all official documents

[33] St. 1 Ed. VI. 1. The non-contents were the bishops of London, Norwich, Hereford, Worcester, and Chichester. Journals, 306.

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issued from their courts should be sealed, not with the episcopal, but with the royal arms.[34]

Suppression of mendicity.

6. The mendicants, who had formerly obtained relief at the gates of the monasteries and convents, now wandered in crowds through the country, and by their numbers and importunities often extorted alms from the intimidated passenger. To abate this nuisance a statute was enacted, which will call to the recollection of the reader the barbarous manners of our pagan forefathers. Whosoever "lived idly and loiter-"ingly for the space of three days," came under the description of a vagabond, and was liable to the following punishment. Two justices of the peace might order the letter V to be burnt on his breast, and adjudge him to serve the informer two years as his slave. His master was bound to provide him with bread, water, and refuse meat; might fix an iron ring round his neck, arm, or leg, and was authorized to compel him to "labour at any work, however vile it might "be, by beating, chaining or otherwise." If the slave absented himself a fortnight, the letter S was burnt on his cheek or forehead, and he became a slave for life: and if he offended a second time in the like manner, his flight subjected him to the penalties of felony.[35] Two years later this

[34] St. 1 Ed. VI. 2.

[35] St. 1 Ed. VI. 3. Similar penalties were enacted against clerks convict, who were no longer to make their purgation. Hence it has been inferred, I conceive erroneously, that the severity of the

severe statute was repealed.[36] The session closed with a general pardon from the king, in consequence of which Gardiner obtained his liberty.[37] CHAP. I. Dec. 24.

The result of this meeting of parliament cheered the men of the new learning with the most flattering anticipations: but the archbishop, aware that the great majority of the nation was still attached to the ancient faith, deemed it prudent to moderate their zeal, and pursued his course with caution and perseverance. Latimer, who had resigned his bishopric in 1539, was called from his retirement, and appointed to preach at St. Paul's cross. The character of the man, the boldness of his invectives, his quaint but animated eloquence, were observed to make a deep impression on the minds of his hearers; and a pulpit was erected for him Ecclesiastical injunctions. 1548. Jan. 1.

statute was chiefly directed against some of the monks who are supposed to have become beggars, and to have railed against the government. Clerks convict, are convicts claiming the right of clergy. Burnet, ii. 45. The young king, in his Journal, calls it "an extreme "law." Edward's Journal in Burn. p. 5.

[36] St. 3 and 4 Ed. VI. 16. Thus the statute of 22 Hen. VIII. 12. was revived, which allowed persons to beg with the license of the magistrates, and punished beggars without license by whipping, or the stocks for three days and three nights.

[37] In one of his letters, written during the session, he hints that if any man thought it politic to keep him from parliament, such person ought to consider whether his forcible absence, with that of those whom he had been used to name in the nether house, might not afterwards be urged as an objection to the validity of the proceedings. Fox, ii. 69. I notice this passage, because it proves that several boroughs at that period were so dependent on the lords and bishops, that they not only returned the members named by such lords, but without such nomination made no return at all.

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in the king's privy garden, where the young Edward, attended by his court, listened to sermons of an hour's duration, and admired what he could not understand, the controversial superiority of the preacher.[38]

The bishops received orders to abolish in their respective dioceses the custom of bearing candles on Candlemas day, of receiving ashes on Ash Wednesday, and of carrying palms on Palm Sunday.[39] The late king had frequently commanded the removal from the churches of all such images, as had been the occasion of superstition and abuse: a proclamation now appeared,

Feb. 24. which complained that these injunctions had given birth to dissensions among the parishioners, and required that, to restore tranquillity, all images whatsoever should be destroyed.[40] To

March 13. this succeeded an order for the public administration of the sacrament under both kinds and in the English language. To avoid offence, no alteration was made in the mass itself; no expression liable to objecton was introduced into the new office: but at the end of the canon, an exhortation was ordered to be made to the communicants, a prayer followed, and the eucharist was distributed first to the clergy, and then to the laity. But to appease the impatience of the reformers the young king was made to say in

[38] He gave to Latimer as a reward for his first sermon 20*l*. The money was secretly supplied by the lord admiral.

[39] Wilk. iv. 22. [40] Ibid. 23.

the preface: "We would not have our subjects "so much to mistake our judgment, so much to "mistrust our zeal, as if we either could not dis- "cern what were to be done, or would not do all "things in good time. God be praised! we know "both what by his word is meet to be redressed, "and have an earnest mind, by the advice of our "most dear uncle, and others of our privy council, "with all diligence to set forth the same."[41] The reader should recollect that this learned and zealous theologian was ten years old.

Gardiner sent to the Tower.

It was soon discovered that imprisonment had not broken the spirit of Gardiner. He was again summoned before the council, and the next day in proof of his submission was ordered to preach at St. Paul's cross in the presence of the king on the feast of St. Peter. To the different subjects which were prescribed to him, he made no objection: but he refused to deliver a written discourse which was offered, or to submit his own composition to the correction of the council. He added that as this was perhaps the only opportunity, which the king would have of hearing the truth, he was determined, whatever might be the consequence, to explain to his young sovereign the catholic doctrine with respect to the mass and the eucharist. The sermon was preached, and the next day the bishop was committed to the Tower. His discourse might be

June 29.

June 30.

[41] Wilk. 11—13.

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divided into three parts. With the first, which commended the religious innovations of the last and the present reign, even his enemies were satisfied: of the second, in which he maintained that a rightful king was as much a sovereign in his infancy as at a more mature age, they could not complain; though it disappointed the hopes of the protector, who wished him to contradict a very prevailing notion, that the authority of the council during the minority did not extend to the issuing of new injunctions, but was confined to the execution of the existing laws. It was the third part which furnished the pretext for his commitment, under the charge of disobedience. In it he had treated of the mass and the eucharist, though the protector had forbidden him in writing to touch on any controverted matter respecting these questions. In his own justification he alleged, that he had not been guilty of disobedience, because the letter was a private communication and not an order from the king in council, and because he had entered into no controversy, but had confined himself to the explication of the established doctrine of the English church, in language similar to that employed by the archbishop in the disputation with Lambert.[42] His imprisonment was evidently illegal. But he was too wary a politician

[42] The protector's letter is in Wilkins, iv. 28. The other particulars are extracted from the articles against Gardiner, and his answers in Fox, ii. 75—77.

to be betrayed into any offence against the law: and his absence from parliament was less desirable in the present than it had been in the past year. His conduct, however, encouraged the partisans of the ancient faith: and in a short time several other prelates ventured to express their disapprobation of the attempts of the metropolitan.

Cranmer had lately published a catechism "for the singular profit and instruction of chil- "dren and young people:"[43] and was now employed with a committee of bishops and divines in the composition of a more important work, a liturgy in the English language, for the use of the English church: the adoption of which by authority of parliament would, it was hoped, consummate the separation of the kingdom from the communion of Rome, by destroying the similarity which still remained in the mode of religious worship sanctioned by the two churches. Taking the Latin missals and breviaries for the groundwork, they omitted such parts as they deemed superfluous or superstitious, translated

Catechism and book of common prayer.

[43] It is remarkable, that in this catechism the archbishop leans more than usually to the ancient doctrines. He comprises the prohibition of false Gods and of images under one commandment, teaches that in the communion are received with the bodily mouth the body and blood of Christ, inculcates in strong terms the advantages of confession and absolution, and attributes the origin of ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Christ in a manner which seems to do away his former opinion on the same subject. Burnet, ii. 71. Collier, ii. 251.

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others, and by numerous additions and corrections endeavoured to meet the wishes of the new teachers, without shocking the belief or the prejudices of their opponents. Before Christmas they had compiled a book of common prayer and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies, after the use of the church of England.[44] To the premature judgment and early piety of the king the completion of the work afforded "great comfort "and quietness of mind." He hastened to recommend it to the notice of the lords and commons assembled in parliament; and a bill was introduced to abolish all other forms of worship, and establish this in their place. The preamble states that whereas numerous dissensions had arisen in the kingdom from the pertinacity with which many adhered to the old, and others to new, forms of divine worship; the king, abstain-

1549. Jan. 7.

[44] The principal differences between this and the present book of common prayer, are to be found in the prayer of consecration (it contained, in imitation of all the ancient liturgies, these words: "Heare us, we beseeche thee, and with thy holy spirite and worde "vouchsafe to bl+esse and sancti+fie these thy gifts and creatures "of bread and wyne, that they maye be unto us the bodie and blood "of thy most derely beloved sonne"), the unctions in baptism and confirmation, the sign of the cross in matrimony, the anointing of the sick, and prayer for the dead. The rubric also in the communion service ordered that the bread should be unleavened, that the communicant should receive at the hand of the priest with the mouth, and that one individual at least in each family should communicate every Sunday in person or by proxy, and pay his share of the expense.

ing of his clemency from the punishment of the offenders, had appointed certain prelates and learned men to compose one convenient and meet order, rite and fashion of common and open prayer: by whom that important task had been accomplished by the aid of the Holy Ghost with one common agreement:[45] therefore the two houses, considering the godly travel of the king and council, and the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies of the said book, and the reasons of altering those things which be altered, and of retaining those which be retained, and also the honour of God and the great quietness likely to ensue from the use of the same, do give to his highness most hearty and lowly thanks, and pray that it may be enacted that after the feast of Pentecost all ministers of the church within the realm of England, shall be bound to make use of the same book in the divine service, and of no other: and that if any parson, vicar, or spiritual person, shall refuse to use it, or shall preach or speak in derogation of it, or shall officiate with any other form, he shall for the first offence forfeit a year's profit of one of his preferments, with six months' imprisonment; for the second lose all his preferments, with a whole year's imprisonment; and for the

[45] This is an extraordinary assertion. There were eighteen bishops in the committee, which composed the book of common prayer, and eight out of the number voted against it. (Lords' Journals, 331.) Would they disapprove in the house what they had approved in the committee?

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third be imprisoned for life: and if any one ridicule the same form of worship, menace the minister for using it, or prevail on him to use any other, he shall on the first conviction pay a fine of ten pounds, on the second of twenty, and on the third forfeit all his goods and chattels, and be imprisoned for life.[46] In the lower house the bill passed without much difficulty: in the higher it experienced a warm opposition; but "after a notable disputation respecting the
Jan. 15. "sacrament,"[47] it was carried by a majority of thirty-one to eleven.[48]

Marriage of the clergy.

To this important innovation in the manner of public worship, succeeded another not less important in the condition of the priesthood. In the last reign the archbishop had contended for the marriage of the clergy, with a pertinacity which might have cost him his life: in the present he was assured of a safe and easy victory.
1548. Dec. 3. The path had already been opened by the decision of the late convocation; and at an early period of the session a bill for the marriage of priests was introduced into the lower house.
Dec. 7. On the third reading it was discovered that,

[46] St. 2 Ed. VI. 1. A provision was added, authorizing the singing of psalms "at any due time." Ibid.

[47] The king's Journal, 6.

[48] Journals, 331. The non-contents were the earl of Derby, the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Hereford, Worcester, Westminster, and Chichester, and the lords Dacres and Wyndsor. Ibid. The earl of Derby, who supposed that another temporal peer had joined in the opposition, boasted that "the *nay* of them four would be to be seen as long as the parliament house stood." Strype, ii. 81.

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though it allowed laymen, who had wives, to take orders, it did not permit clergymen, who had received orders, to take wives. A new bill was therefore brought in, and passed after a long and stormy discussion. In the lords, however, for reasons now unknown, it remained during two months without notice; when a totally different bill was substituted in its place, and on a division was carried by a majority of thirty-nine to twelve.[49] To this bill the commons assented. It states that though it were to be wished that the clergy would observe perpetual continency, as more becoming their spiritual character, rendering them better able to attend to their ministry, and freeing them from worldly cares and embarrassments, yet so many inconveniencies had arisen from compulsive chastity, that it was deemed better to allow to those, who could not contain, the godly use of marriage: wherefore it enacts, that thenceforth all laws made by man only, and prohibitory of the marriages of spiritual persons, shall be void and of none effect: but that all divorces hitherto made (in consequence of the statute of the six articles) shall remain valid in law.[50]

Dec. 10.

Dec. 13.

1549. Feb. 9.

Feb. 19.

Of these enactments it was natural that men

History of the lord admiral.

[49] Journals of Com. 4, 5. Journals of Lords, 323. 339. The lords in the minority were the bishops of London, Durham, Norwich, Carlisle, Worcester, Chichester, Bristol and Landaff, and the lords Morley, Dacres, Wyndsor, and Wharton. Ibid.

[50] 2 & 3 Ed. VI. 21.

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should judge according to the bias given to their minds by their religious notions: but there was another proceeding in this parliament, which appeared to shock the feelings of the whole nation. The protector had a younger brother, sir Thomas Seymour, whose ambition was equal, whose abilities were superior, to his own. Between them a broad distinction had been drawn by the discernment or partiality of the late king; and while Edward had risen to the rank of earl, had obtained the command of armies, and been named one of the governors of his nephew, Thomas had been left without title, and without any other office than that of counsellor to Henry's executors. If the latter bore with impatience the superiority of his brother during the last reign, his discontent was not appeased by the first measures of the present. He had indeed obtained a grant of the manor of Sudeley, and of other manors in eighteen different counties;[51] had been created a baron by the style of lord Seymour of Sudeley; and had been appointed high admiral of England: but to his ambition these grants and preferments appeared as nothing comparatively with the rank and titles of Edward, who was protector of the realm, guardian of the royal person, lord high treasurer, earl marshal, and duke of Somerset.

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[51] Strype, ii. 125. Sudeley had belonged to the abbey of Winchelcomb.

CHAP. I.

He marries the queen dowager. 1547.

As the first step towards the improvement of his fortune, he offered his hand to the queen dowager. Catharine had loved him long before: and, had she consulted her inclination instead of her vanity, would at the death of lord Latimer have preferred him to Henry. Now, though aware of the indecent haste of the proposal, she was unable to resist his importunity, or to check her own passion: and having procured for the sanction of her conduct, a letter from the young king,[52] contracted a clandestine marriage with a third husband, almost as soon as the dead body of the second had been deposited in the grave.[53] It was not however her person, but her riches, that had engaged the affections of Seymour. She was entitled to the dower of a queen of England; and had amassed considerable wealth by the indulgence of Henry: but the expectations of her husband were greatly disappointed by a decision of the lords of the council requir-

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[52] Strype, ii. 132, 133.

[53] Henry VIII. was buried eighteen days after his death. I know not on what day his widow married: but it was "so soon, that if she "had conceived straight after, it should have been a great doubt "whether the child born, should have been accounted the late king's "or the admiral's." Art. 20 of charge against him, Burnet, ii. Rec. 160. There is a letter in Strype from the king to her, dated June 2d, in which he thanks her for accepting his suit to her. This that writer supposes to allude to the marriage. But if it had only taken place then, the council could not have brought against Seymour the charge mentioned above. Edward in his Journal notices it after the recantation of Dr. Smith, which was in May (p. 4.): but this perhaps may allude to its publication.

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Wins the affection of the king.

ing the restoration of the crown jewels which *she* claimed as a present, *they* reclaimed as a loan from her royal husband.[54] He next sought to win and to monopolize the affection of his nephew. With this view he indulged the young Edward in all his wishes, secretly supplied him with large sums of money,[55] blamed the severity with which he was used by the protector, hinted that he was kept under restraint unbecoming his age and parts and dignity, and purchased with presents the good will of his preceptors, and of the gentlemen of his chamber. From ancient precedents, he contended, that the offices of protector and guardian ought not to be joined in the same person: but that if one belonged to the elder uncle, the other ought to be conferred on the younger: the king readily imbibed the opinions of the man whom he loved: and a resolution was taken that the nephew should write a letter of complaint; that the admiral should lay it before the two houses of parliament; and that he should attempt, with the aid of his partisans, to procure the guardianship for himself. Seymour had already composed the letter for Edward, who engaged to copy it, when the plot was betrayed to the protector; and the lord admiral was called before the council.[56] He repelled the charge with haughtiness, and

[54] Burghley's State Papers, by Haynes, 73.

[55] See Edward's Confession, idid. 74 Burnet, ii. Rec. 163.

[56] Burnet, ii. Rec. 158.

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treated their authority with defiance. But when the law officers declared that his offence amounted to an attempt to overturn the established government; and a hint had been thrown out of committing him to the Tower, his courage quickly subsided; he condescended to acknowledge his fault; and the two brothers mutually forgave each other. To seal their reconciliation, an addition of eight hundred pounds a year was made to his appointments.

Aspires to the hand of the lady Elizabeth.

But a new prospect soon opened to his ambition, which, as it sought for power, was not to be satisfied with money. He began to aspire to the hand of the lady Elizabeth, the king's sister; and to condemn that precipitate union with Catharine, which excluded him from the pursuit of so noble a prize. His attentions to the princess were remarked: and their familiarity was so undisguised, that it afforded employment to the propagators of scandal, and awakened the jealousy of his wife, by whom he was one day surprised with Elizabeth in his arms.[57] But the queen in a short time died in childbirth: and her death happened so opportunely for his project, that by the malice of his enemies it was attributed to poison.[58] He now redoubled his court to the princess;[59] her governess was

1548. Sept. 30.

[57] Haynes, 96. 99.

[58] Even Elizabeth notices that "she, he had before, ded so myskary." Ibid. 101.

[59] From the testimony of the reluctant Mrs. Ashley, Elizabeth's governess, it appears that the courtship was not conducted in the most delicate manner. The moment he was up, he would hasten to

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bribed: her own affections were won: but a clandestine marriage would, by the will of her father, have annulled her right to the succession: and means were to be devised, to extort what otherwise would not be granted, the consent of the council. For this purpose, as it was believed, the admiral sought the friendship of the discontented among the nobility, and by condemning the measures of the government, endeavoured to acquire the applause of the people. He censured the employment of foreign troops in the war against Scotland, as an innovation dangerous to the liberties of the country: his nephew was taught to look with a jealous eye on the ambition of the protector: a marriage was secretly projected between the young king and the lady Jane Gray,[60] the presumptive heiress

Elizabeth's chamber "in his night gown, and barelegged;" if she were still in bed, "he wold put open the curteyns and make as though "he wold come at hir: and she wold go farther in the bed, so that "he cold not come at hir;" if she were up, he "wold ax how she "did, and strike hir upon the bak or the buttocks famylearly." Ibid. 98, 99. He sent James Seymour "to recommend him to hir, and ax "hir, whither hir great buttocks were grown any les or no." Ibid. 100. Parry the cofferer, says, "she told me that the admirall loved "her but too well: that the quene was jelowse on hir and him: and "that, suspecting the often accesse of the admiral to her, she came "sodenly upon them, wher they were all alone, he having her in his "armes." Ibid. 96. It was reported, not only that she was pregnant, "which she declared to be a shameful schandler;" (ibid. 90.) but also that she bore him a child. At her request a proclamation was issued ordering the people "to refrain their tongues, and declaring the tales "to be but lies." MS. life of Jane Dormer, dutchess of Feria, p.152.

[60] He had prevailed on the marquess and marchioness of Dorset to allow the young lady to stay with the queen dowager; after her

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to the claims of the house of Suffolk: and the riches of the admiral, the number of his retainers, and his influence in different counties, were openly announced and exaggerated by himself and his friends.

He is attainted of treason.

The protector at length determined to crush so dangerous a competitor. Sharington, master of the mint at Bristol, was examined before the council, on a charge of having amassed an enormous fortune, by clipping the coin, issuing testoons of inferior value, and falsifying the entries made in his books. The admiral, who was his creditor to the amount of three thousand pounds, boldly defended the accused: but Sharington, to save his life, betrayed his advocate, and confessed that he had promised to coin money for Seymour, who could reckon on the services of ten thousand men, and intended with their aid to carry off the king, and to change the present form of the government.[61] The admiral was in-

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death he was still unwilling to part with her. See the letters of the father and mother requiring her return. Haynes, 77. 79. Also 83. 86.

[61] I have extracted these particulars from the original depositions in the Burghley State Papers, and the Records in Burnet. Several other particulars, mentioned by historians, I have omitted, because they are not supported by these documents. Nor have I given full credit to the documents themselves: particularly as to the sum of money promised to him by Sharington, and the number of men at his disposal. It has been said that the quarrel between the two brothers was owing originally to a quarrel between their wives; but this again has been disputed by some modern historians, as depending only on the assertion of Sanders. It is, however, also

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stantly committed to the Tower, and underwent several examinations, sometimes before a deputation, once before the whole of the council. On these trying occasions he lost nothing of his usual spirit. He heard the charges against him with disdain, claimed to be confronted with his accusers, and required a copy of the information. Such demands, though consonant to the principles of justice, were contrary to the practice of the age: the young king abandoned one uncle to the jealousy or vengeance of the other; and in imitation of the illegal precedents of the last reign, a bill of attainder against him was brought into the house of lords. The judges and law officers of the crown gave their opinion, that some of the charges amounted to treason: and several peers, rising in their places, repeated the evidence which they had already given before the council. Somerset attended at each reading of the bill. On the third it was agreed to without a division: and was sent to the other house with a message that the lords, who were personally acquainted with the traitorous designs of the admiral, would, if it were required, repeat their evidence before the commons. In that

1549, Jan. 16.

Feb. 25.

mentioned by Fox, p. 96. I am, indeed, aware that the authority of Fox is not one jot better than that of Sanders: but when two violent writers of opposite parties agree in the same statement, it may be presumed to have some foundation in truth. The king himself notices in his Journal (p. 4), that "the lord protector was "much offended with his brother's marriage."

house an unexpected opposition was made. It was contended that to convict by bill of attainder was contrary to law and justice: that by the late statute the accused had a right to be confronted with his accusers; and that it was unreasonable to condemn him, till he had been heard in his own defence. After the second reading the lords repeated their message: and having waited for a considerable time, requested the protector to receive the answer, and to report it to the house the next day. But he preferred to put an end to the discussion by a message from the king, declaring that it was unnecessary to hear the admiral at the bar of the house, and repeating the offer of the evidence of the lords. The opponents of the court were silenced: the bill immediately passed: and received the royal assent at the end of the session.[62]

March 1.

March 4.

March 14.

Three days later the warrant for the execution of Seymour was signed by the council, and among the names appear those of Somerset and Cranmer, both of whom might, it was thought, have abstained from that ungracious office, the one on account of his relationship to the prisoner, the other because the canons prohibited to clergymen all participations in judgments of blood.[63] On the scaffold the unhappy man loudly proclaimed his innocence: nor will those

And is executed. March 17.

March 20.

[62] Lords' Journals, 345—347. Journals of Commons, 8.

[63] Burnet, ii. Rec. 164.

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who attentively peruse the thirty-three charges against him, and the depositions on which they were founded, be inclined to dispute the assertion. His enmity was not against his king, but against his brother. His ambition prompted him to seek a share of that power which Somerset had arrogated to himself: his influence, his intrigues, his ascendency over the mind of his nephew, might have been dangerous to the authority of the protector: but there is no sufficient evidence that he intended to carry off the king, or to raise a civil war within the kingdom. It was thought that if his offence had been more clearly established, he might still have obtained pardon from the charity of a brother: it was suspected that Sharington had been suborned to calumniate him, as the price of his own life; and this suspicion was almost converted into certainty, when that offender was not only restored to his former appointment, but was found still to possess a considerable fortune.[64] Latimer, however, who seems to have believed in the infallibility of the council, undertook its defence. In a sermon preached before the king and a numerous audience, he severely condemned the temerity of those who presumed to judge of the conduct of men in power, without

[64] In 1550 he bought back of the king the manors and lands which he had forfeited, for the sum of 12,866*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* He had been already restored in blood, and had obtained his former office. Strype, ii. 199.

being acquainted with their motives; and justified the execution of Seymour, whom he declared to have led a sensual, dissolute, irreligious life, and to have died in a manner suitable to his life, "dangerously, irksomely, horribly." But of Sharington he spoke in terms of approbation, and maintained that the fervency of his repentnace entitled him to his pardon, and made him a fit example for the encouragement and imitation of sinners.[65]

Resumption of hostilities with Scotland.

We may now return to the Scottish war. The defeat of the Scots had not subdued their antipathy to the projected marriage between Edward and Mary. To an unprejudiced mind, indeed, that marriage must have appeared to offer numerous and valuable benefits to the country: but in the opposite scale of the balance were to be weighed the hereditary hatred which divided the

[65] Latimer not only arraigned the life of the admiral, but also his death. According to the account in his sermon, as Seymour laid his head on the block, he told the servant of the lieutenant, to bid his servant speed the thing that he wot of. That servant was apprehended, and confessed that the admiral had by some means made himself ink in the Tower, had used for a pen the aiglet of a point which he plucked from his hose, and had written two letters to the lady Mary, and lady Elizabeth, which he sewed within the sole of a velvet shoe. The shoe was opened, and the letters were found. Their object was to excite the jealousy of the king's sisters against the protector as their great enemy. Hence the preacher concluded that God had clean forsaken him. "Whether," he adds, "he be saved or no, I leave it to God: but surely he was a wicked "man, and the realm is well rid of him." See Latimer's fourth sermon in the 1st edit. Later editors, ashamed of the passage, have thought proper to omit it. See also Godwin, 93. Strype, ii. 126.

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two nations; the idea that Scotland would become a province of that kingdom, which had so often but so vainly laboured to subvert its independence; and the apprehension that the loss of the national independence would be followed by the loss of the national religion. Even among those, who were not moved by these considerations, there were many who, with the earl of Huntley, condemned "the manner of the woo-"ing." To seek the friendship of a nation by declaring war against it, to claim the affection of a woman by inflicting injuries on her friends and her possessions, were novel and doubtful experiments: and the protector soon learned that his brilliant victory at Pinkey had only accelerated the evil, which it was his great object to avert. In an assembly of the Scottish lords at Stirling, it was resolved to implore the aid of France, their most ancient and faithful ally; to offer the young queen in marriage to the dauphin: and to propose that for greater security she should be educated in the French court. On the other hand Somerset published an address to the Scottish people in English and Latin, imputing the evils of the war to Arran and his advisers, who the last year had suppressed the favourable offers of the English government. To whom, he asked, would they marry their infant sovereign? To a foreign prince? Their country would become an appendage to a foreign crown.

1548. Feb. 5.

CHAP. I.

To a native? It would perpetuate the quarrel between England and Scotland. For eight hundred years no opportunity had risen like the present. A young king and a young queen might unite their crowns: Scotland would preserve her laws and liberties: and the two nations would live in peace and harmony under the common name of Britons.

This address was followed by the arrival of the lord Gray of Wilton with a powerful army. The flames of war were quickly spread from the borders to the gates of the capital: Dalkeith was reduced to ashes; and Haddington was taken, fortified, and garrisoned with more than two thousand men, partly English, and partly Italians. Gray had scarcely begun his retreat, when a hostile squadron anchored at Leith, June 16. having on board three thousand German, and two thousand French veterans, commanded by D'Esse, a brave and experienced officer.[65] Reinforced by Arran and eight thousand Scots, D'Esse sat down before Haddington. Batteries were raised, a breach was made: but sir John Wilford, the governor, defended himself with so much skill and obstinacy, and inflicted so many injuries on the assailants, that the Frenchman, doubtful of the result, which might have

[66] Henry II. used to say of him: nous sommes quatre gentilshommes, qui combattrons en lice, et courrons la bague contre tous allans et venans de la France; moy, Sansac, D'Esse, et Chastaignerave. Brantome, vii. 203. La Have. 1740.

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proved fatal to his followers, refused to order an assault, and converted the siege into a blockade.[67]

Mary is carried to France.

At the same time the earl of Arran had convened the three estates of the kingdom in a neighbouring monastery. The determination of the lords at Stirling was solemnly ratified: treaties confirmatory of the marriage and alliance were exchanged between Dessoles, the French ambassador, and the Scottish governor: and La Brosse and Villegaignon, sailing with the fleet in a southern direction, unexpectedly changed their course, steered round the north of Scotland to Dunbarton, received on board the young queen and her household, and reached
Aug. 13. in safety the harbour of Brest. From Brest Mary was conducted to St. Germain en Laye, and contracted to her destined husband, the dauphin of France. From that moment the original object of the war was at an end. The French monarch, as the representative of his son and daughter, now king and queen of Scotland, required that the English government should abstain from all hostility against the Scots during the minority of the two princes.[68] Somerset returned a refusal: though for that refusal he could now have no other motive than vexation and resentment.

The distress of the garrison at Haddington

[67] Lesley, 467. Hayward, 290. [68] Lesl. 470. Ribier, ii. 152.

had been occasionally but scantily relieved by small parties from Berwick: and an attempt was made to throw a more copious supply into the town by sir Thomas Palmer and sir Robert Bowes; at the head of two thousand horse. By the address of the lord Home the convoy was surprised, and the escort taken or slain. To repair this disaster the earl of Shrewsbury crossed the borders with twenty-two thousand men, of whom three or four thousand were German lansquenets. But D'Esse, raising the blockade, intrenched himself at Musselburg: the earl could not provoke him to a battle, and dared not attack him within his fortifications: and the army returned, after having supplied the garrison with men and provisions, burnt Dunbar, and ravaged the country.[69]

Shrewsbury in Scotland.

Aug. 20.

From this period the war continued with alternate losses and advantages to both parties; though, on the whole, the balance of success inclined in favour of Scotland. Haddington was evacuated. The allies recovered the fortresses of Home-castle, and Fast-castle: they crossed the borders, burnt Ford and twenty villages, and penetrated almost to the walls of Newcastle: they even obtained, after an obstinate and bloody action, possession of the rock of Inchkeith, on which Cotterel had strongly intrenched himself.

1549.

June.

[69] Edward's Journ. 5, 6. Hollingsh. 994.

CHAP. I.

D'Esse was afterwards recalled at his own solicitation or that of the Scots,[70] and left the command to marshal Termes, who had lately brought a reinforcement of thirteen hundred men. Termes imitated the policy of his predecessor; and the English ascendency gradually yielded, not so much to the power of its adversaries, as to the influence of a series of untoward events, which distracted the attention, and exhausted the resourses, of the government.

General discontent.

The depreciation of the currency during the late reign had been followed by its necessary consequence, a proportionate advance in the price of saleable commodities. The value of land rose with the value of its produce; and the rents of farms had been doubled, in many instances tripled, in the course of a few years. To the working classes this alteration would have made little difference, had their wages been raised in the same ratio. But it so happened that the demand for labour had been lessened; and the price of labour sunk with the demand. Experience had proved to the agriculturist that the growth of wool was more profitable than that of corn: whence tillage was discouraged, that a larger portion of land might be brought into pasturage; and in most counties thousands of labourers were excluded from their accus-

[70] The English writers say the Scots were wearied with his vanity and insolence: Brantome that he demanded his recal on account of his health. Brant. vii. 211.

tomed employments. But if scarcity of work generated distress, that distress was augmented by the interested though obvious policy of the landlords. In former times, particularly on the estates of the monks and clergy, considerable portions of land had been allotted for the common use of the labourers and of the poor inhabitants. But the present proprietors had by repeated enclosures added many portions of the wastes and commons to the former extent of the farms; and thus had cut off or narrowed one great source of support to the more indigent classes.[71]

Men, under the pressure of distress, are always prepared to arraign the conduct of their governors. The discontented, though unable to comprehend the arguments of controversialists, felt their own misery: they saw that the new

Insurrections.

[71] In a proclamation issued the preceding year, the king is made to complain that many villages, in which 100 or 200 people had lived, were entirely destroyed; that one shepherd now dwelt, where industrious families dwelt before; and that the realm is wasted by "bringing arable grounds into pasture, and letting houses, whole "families and copyholds, to fall down, decay and be waste." And Hales, the commissioner, in his charge repeats these complaints, observing that the laws which forbade any man to keep more than 2000 sheep, and commanded the owners of church lands to keep household on the same, and to occupy as much of the demesne lands in tillage, as had been occupied twenty years before, were disobeyed: whence he asserts, that the number of the king's subjects had been wonderfully diminished: as appeared by the new book of musters compared with the old, and with the chronicles. Strype, ii. 92. 94.

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proprietors of the church lands paid not the same attention as the old to the wants of the poor: they coupled their own sufferings with the innovations in religion; and complained of that system which had diminished their resources, and now compelled them to practise a worship foreign from their habits and feelings.[72] The day approached when the use of the old liturgy was to cease, and that of the new to begin; instead of the high mass, its music and its ceremonies, with which they had been familiarized from their infancy, they were to hear what they deemed an inanimate service, a "mere "Christmas play;"[73] and, as if this additional provocation had goaded them to madness, the common people rose, almost at the same time, in the counties of Wilts, Sussex, Surrey, Hants, Berks, Kent, Gloucester, Somerset, Suffolk, Warwick, Essex, Hertford, Leicester, Worcester, and Rutland. In the first of these counties, sir William Herbert put himself at the head of a body of troops, dispersed the insurgents, and executed martial law on the most guilty. In the others tranquillity was restored by the exertions of the resident gentry, and the persuasions of the most moderate among the yeomanry.[74] It proved, however, a deceitful calm, the forerunner of a more dangerous storm.

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[72] Godwin, 93. [73] Fox, ii. 15. [74] Edward's Journ. 6.

The protector had been alarmed. Without the concurrence of the council, he appointed commissioners to inquire into the grievances of the people, to remove the new enclosures, and to restore the ancient commons. The very intelligence revived the hopes of the discontented: they assembled again in numerous bodies, and proceeded to do themselves justice without the aid of the commissioners. In general, however, as they acted without concert, and without leaders, the effervescence subsided of itself; but in the counties of Oxford, of Norfolk, and of Cornwall and Devon, the risings assumed a more dangerous shape; armies were formed which threatened defiance to the government: and if the insurrections were finally suppressed, it was only with the aid of the foreign troops, the bands of adventurers that had been raised in Italy, Spain and Germany, to serve in the war against Scotland.

In Oxfordshire.

The command in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire was given to the lord Gray, with a body of fifteen hundred regular troops, including Spinola with his Italians. As soon as he had been joined by the gentlemen of the county, he marched against the insurgents, of whom one part fled at his approach, the other was broken at the first charge. Two hundred were made prisoners in the pursuit, and twelve of the ringleaders were delivered to the general, by whose

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order they expiated their offence on the gallows.[75]

In Devonshire.

In Devonshire the new liturgy had been read for the first time in the church of Samford Courteney on Whitsunday: the next day the

June 10.

parishioners compelled the clergyman to restore the ancient service. This contravention of the law was the signal of a general insurrection. Humphrey Arundel, the governor of St. Michael's mount, put himself at its head, and in a few days numbered under his standard ten thousand men.

To oppose the insurgents the lord Russel, lord privy seal, was furnished with a small body of troops, and with three preachers, Gregory, Reynolds, and Coverdale, who received a licence from the king, to declare the word of God to the people in such public places as the general

June 30.

should appoint.[76] But Russel, distrusting the inferiority of his force, and the eloquence of his preachers, resolved to imitate the policy of the duke of Norfolk in the late reign. He offered to negociate: and the insurgents made fifteen demands, which were afterwards reduced to eight, requiring the restoration of the ancient service, the re-enactment of the statute of the

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[75] Edward's Journal, 7.

[76] See the commission in Strype, ii. 168. Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, was another preacher for the same purpose. He harangued the Norfolk insurgents, and narrowly escaped with his life.

six articles, the introduction of cardinal Pole into the council, and the re-establishment of two abbeys at least in every county. To the first Cranmer composed a long and elaborate reply: the second was answered by a proclamation in the king's name, refusing every article in a tone of contempt and superiority.[77] But Arundel, while he treated, continued his operations, and sate down before Exeter. Without cannon to make a breach, he instructed his followers to set fire to one of the gates: but the inhabitants threw additional fuel into the flames, and while it burnt erected a new rampart within. A second attempt to sap the wall was defeated by the vigilance of the besieged, who discovered the mine, and filled it with water. The assailants, however, were not dismayed: by watching the gates they prevented the introduction of provisions: and during a fortnight the inhabitants suffered all the privations of famine. July 8.

In the mean time the council, instead of supplying Russel with troops, had sent him nothing but proclamations. By one a free pardon was July 11

[77] The king's proclamation may be seen in Fox (ii. 15, 16), the reply of the archbishop has been published by Strype. (Cranmer, App. p. 86.) One of the articles seems to have embarrassed him. The Cornish men complained that they did not understand the English service: he replied that they did not understand the Latin. But this was an evasion. Certainly on the same principle, on which he contended that the English ought to have an English liturgy, the Irish, Welsh, and Cornish, had a right to a service in their own languages.

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granted to all who would submit: by a second, the lands, goods and chattels of the insurgents were given to any man who could obtain pos-
July 16. session: a third ordered the punishment of death to be inflicted by martial law on such persons, as attempted to collect any riotous or unlawful assembly: and a fourth urged the commissioners to put down illegal enclosures, and was accompanied with a private admonition, that it was time for them to look to themselves, and to reform their own conduct. At length, on the fortieth day, lord Gray arrived with a reinforcement of German horse and Italian arquebusiers: the
Aug. 6. insurgents were immediately driven from the city with the loss of nine hundred men: an attempt to rally on Clifton down was followed by a more sanguinary defeat: and a third and last effort to oppose the royalists at Bridgewater, completed their downfal. During the insurrection four thousand men are said to have perished in the field, or by the hand of the executioner.[78]

[78] Edward's Journal, 7. Fox, 15—17. Hollingshed, 1002. Hayward, 295. Strype, ii. 170. Rec. 103—107. During these disturbances, martial law was executed in every part of the kingdom; and often, it is to be feared, with little attention to justice. Sir Anthony Kyngstone, provost of the western army, distinguished himself by the promptitude of his decisions, and the pleasantry with which he accompanied them. Having dined with the mayor of Bodmin, he asked him if the gallows were sufficiently strong? The mayor replied that he thought so. "Then," said Kyngstone, "go up and try;" and hanged him without further ceremony. On another occasion, having received information against a miller, he proceeded to the mill, and not finding the master at home, ordered

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In Norfolk. June 10.

In Norfolk the first rising was at Aldborough. It appeared in its origin too contemptible to deserve notice: but it formed the nucleus round which the discontented of the neighbouring parishes successively arranged themselves: and, as soon as they amounted to a formidable number, Ket, by trade a tanner, but the lord of three manors in the county, proclaimed himself their leader. He planted his standard on the summit of Moushold hill, near Norwich: erected for himself a throne under a spreading oak, which he called the oak of reformation; and established courts of chancery, king's bench, and common pleas, in imitation of the courts in Westminster hall. In his proclamations he complained, that the commons were ground to the dust by the oppression of the rich; and that a new service had been forced on the people in opposition to the conviction of their consciences: and declared that if he and his associates had taken up arms, it was for the sole purpose of placing trusty and noble counsellors round the king during his minority, and of removing those, "who confounded "things sacred and profane, and regarded no- "thing but the enriching of themselves with the "public treasure, that they might riot in it during "the public calamity."[79] Obeyed by twenty thou- July 6.

his servant to the gallows, bidding him be content, for it was the best service which he had ever rendered to his master. Speed, 1113. Hayward, 295.

[79] Heylin, 77. Godwin, 93.

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sand men, he treated the offer of a pardon with scorn; and when the marquess of Northampton had entered Norwich with one thousand English horse, and a body of Italians under Malatesta, he attacked the city, set one part of it on fire, killed the lord Sheffield and one hundred men, and compelled the marquess and his followers to retire out of the county. The council was alarmed and embarrassed: troops were recalled from the army in Scotland; the gentlemen of the neighbouring counties were ordered by proclamation to join the royal forces; and the command was given first to the protector, and afterwards to the earl of Warwick. That nobleman with eight thousand men, of whom two thousand were German horse, forced his way into Norwich; yet so incessant were the insurgents in their attacks, so lavish were they of life, that they often drove the gunners from the batteries, burst open the gates, and fought with the royalists in the streets. The earl commanded his followers to swear on their swords that they would never abandon the place; and by his perseverance was at last enabled to attain his object, of removing the enemy from their advantageous position. Compelled by want of provisions, Ket descended from the hill: in Dussingdale he was overtaken by the royal army: his followers were broken by the charge of a large body of regular cavalry: and about two thousand men perished in the action and the pursuit. The remainder, however, sur-

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rounded themselves with a rampart of waggons, and a trench fortified with stakes; and to an offer of pardon replied, that they knew the fate which awaited them, and that it was better to perish by the sword than by the halter. The earl, still apprehensive of the result, spoke to them himself: at his solicitation they accepted a general pardon: and the severity of the law was confined to the execution of Ket on Norwich castle, of his brother on the steeple of Windham, and of nine others on the nine branches of the oak of reformation.[80] It is to these events that we owe the institution of the lords lieutenants of counties, who where now appointed to inquire of treason, misprision of treason, insurrections and riots, with authority of levy men, and lead them against the enemies of the king.[81]

War declared by the king of France.

So many insurrections succeeding and strengthening each other, had shaken the power of the protector: his fall was accelerated by the hostile determination of the king of France. From the

[80] Edward's Journal, 7, 8. Strype, ii. Rec. 107. Fox, 17. Godwin, 94. Hollingshed, 1035. 1039. Hayward, 299.

[81] Strype, ii. 178. At this time, July 2d, the king by proclamation fixed the prices of cattle. I shall extract a few instances.

	From July to November.			November to Christmas.			Christmas to Shrovetide.		
	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*	£.	*s.*	*d.*
A fat ox of largest bone.....	2	5	0	2	6	8	2	8	4
A steer or runt, ditto	1	5	0	1	6	8		8	4
A heifer, ditto	1	2	0	1	3	0			

A fat sheep, large of bone, 4*s.* till Michaelmas, afterwards 4*s.* 4*d.* See Strype, ii. 151.

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moment that Mary of Scotland had reached St. Germain's, Somerset had proposed to make peace with the Scots, to surrender Boulogne to Henry for a sum of money, and to unite with that monarch in the support of the protestant interest in Germany against the overwhelming superiority of Charles. But he yielded against his own conviction to the majority of the council, who pronounced the surrender of Boulogne a measure calculated to cover the king's government with disgrace. Let them rather intrust that fortress to the protection of the emperor, and offer the crown of Scotland to the ambition of Arran: France would then cease to threaten England with war; and Edward might have leisure to improve his resources, and provide against future contingencies.[82] But the emperor refused to act against the faith of his treaty with Henry: and that prince, encouraged by the insurrections in England, sent to Edward a declaration of war. Immediately the French troops poured into the Boulognnois. Sellacques was taken by storm: Ambleteuse surrendered after a siege of some days; the garrison of Blackness capitulated at the first summons; and Montalambert was evacuated before the arrival of the enemy. Boulogne indeed defied the efforts of the French, who were deterred by the approach of winter from forming a regular siege: but

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[82] Burnet, ii. 130, 131.

there was little doubt that at the return of spring it would fall, unless a numerous army could be collected for its relief. All these disasters were attributed to the misconduct of the protector.[83]

Dissensions in the cabinet.

That nobleman was vain, confident, and overbearing. From the time that he was invested with the supreme authority, he had thought little of conciliating the men, who, though they had been declared his equals by the will of the late king, had raised him to his present superiority. He made them feel the distance between the protector and his counsellors: seldom condescended to ask their advice: and, when he did, frequently acted in opposition to their opinion. The pride of several among them was wounded by the haughtiness of his manner and the arrogance of his decisions;[84] but prudence taught them to suppress their resentment, and to wait in patience the opportunity of revenge. That opportunity according to appearances could not be far distant. The execution of the admiral had stamped, in the estimation of many, a foul

[83] Godwin, 95. Nothing was more felt than the want of money. It was calculated that the insurrections had cost the king 28,000*l.* All the war charges of the year, including fortifications, amounted to 1,356,000*l.* Strype, ii. 178.

[84] "Howsoever," writes Paget to him, "it cometh to pass I cannot "tell; but of late your grace is grown in great choleric fashions, "whensoever you are contraried in that which you have conceived "in your head....a subject in great authority as your grace is, using "such fashion, is like to fall into great danger and peril of his own "person." Apud Strype, ii. Rec. p. 108.

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blot on his character: by the men of the old learning he was universally considered as their most dangerous and determined enemy: and even the more moderate among the reformers severely condemned his rapacity and extravagance. The erection of that magnificent pile of building, which still retains from him the name of Somerset-house, was the subject of general censure. It was said, that to procure a convenient site for this structure, he had demolished the parish church of St. Mary's, and compelled the bishops of Worcester, Lichfield, and Landaff, to convey to him the episcopal mansions belonging to their respective sees: that to furnish materials he had pulled down several chapels and religious edifices; and that at a time when the kingdom, through the poverty of the exchequer, was left almost without an army for its defence, he could afford to spend the daily sum of one hundred pounds in unnecessary buildings. It was not, however, till his conduct during the insurrections had entailed on him the general disapprobation of the landholders, that his enemies in the council dared to avow their hostility. His embarrassment, caused by the French declaration of war, encouraged their hopes: and though he had taken upon himself the command of the army against the Norfolk insurgents, it was, on what account we know not, suddenly transferred from him to the earl of Warwick. The earl returned victorious: and from that

period we behold Somerset and Warwick at the head of two opposite parties, and reciprocally attributing to each other the most dangerous projects.

Somerset and Warwick opposed to each other. Oct. 6.

In the beginning of October the fears and jealousies of the two leaders brought them into open collision. On the sixth, Somerset, with the archbishop of Canterbury, and sir William Paget, attended on the king at Hampton-court: Warwick, with several other lords of the council, assembled at Ely-place, accompanied by a numerous retinue of servants secretly armed. The former issued orders in the king's name to the lords of the adjoining counties, the inhabitants of the nearest hamlets, and the citizens of London, to furnish a certain number of men for the guard of the royal person; while his opponents by circular letters forbade obedience to his orders, and accused him of having neglected to pay the forces, and to provision the king's fortresses: of spending the public money in extravagant erections; of fomenting divisions between the higher and the lower classes in the nation; of seeking the destruction of the nobility, and of intending ultimately to substitute himself in the place of the young sovereign.[85]

Somerset sent to the Tower.

In ambition the duke of Somerset yielded to few; but he possessed not that decision of mind which could have fitted him to become the

[85] See the letters to Lord Russel, and the lord mayor, in Fox, ii. 93. 95. and the contrary letter of the lords, ibid. Stow, 598. Ellis, ii. 166.

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leader of a faction: and his own irresolution was augmented by the caution of the archbishop, who was unwilling to give offence to the opposite party, and the advice of Paget, who still cherished the hope of a reconciliation. That evening the protector at the head of five hundred men escorted the king to the castle of Windsor:

Oct. 7.

the next morning he was alarmed at the indifference with which his orders of the preceding day had been received, and at the forced or voluntary absence of secretary Petre, who had previously been sent to Ely-place, and instead of returning, had joined the adverse faction. Abandoning that tone of superiority which he had hitherto assumed, he wrote to inquire what were the intentions of his opponents. If they meant harm to the king, he would shed the last drop of his blood in the defence of his nephew; if the quarrel were of a private nature with himself, he was willing to consent to reasonable conditions. This letter proved that his spirit was broken: the answer plunged him into despair. The lords required that he should resign the office of protector, should dismiss his forces, "and should be "contented to be ordered according to justice "and reason:" an expression of indeterminate and fearful meaning, which might afterwards be explained as the interest or the passion of his adversaries should suggest. But the prospect around him grew every hour more black and discouraging. Not a single gentleman had re-

paired to Windsor, while the opposite party had been gradually swelled by new accessions, and already could number at its head two-and-twenty of the executors and counsellors named in the will of the late monarch. To disarm the hostility of Warwick, the duke in a private letter reminded that nobleman of their friendship from the time of their youth, and of the attention which he had always paid to his interest; and, to provide for his own safety, he protested before the king that he had no design to injure his opponents; but was willing to submit the quarrel between him and them to four arbitrators, two to be chosen by each party. This offer was announced to the lords in a letter from Cranmer, Paget, and secretary Smith, who added that a report had reached them of a design against the life of the duke: on which account they thought it just that before he resigned his office, he should know on what conditions that resignation was expected. But the friends of Warwick, assured of success, treated the proposals with scorn. By proclamation they accused the protector of high crimes and misdemeanours: and in their reply, disclaimed all vindictive motives, but insisted on an unconditional submission. The tone of this letter convinced Somerset of the inutility of resistance: and with a misboding heart he invited his adversaries to Windsor.[86]

Oct. 8.

Oct. 9.

Oct. 10.

[86] See these letters in Fox, ii. 94. Stow, 597—600. Burnet, ii. Rec. 183—189.

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The first day they examined, and committed five of his servants: the next they called him before them, objected to him twenty-nine articles of crime or misdemeanour, and ordered him to be conveyed a prisoner to the Tower. He was guarded by three hundred horse; the streets were lined with the city militia as he passed; and every care was taken to add by parade and celebrity to the mortification of the fallen and disconsolate protector.

Oct. 13. Oct. 14.

Meeting of parliament.

The confinement of Somerset filled the reformers with the most gloomy apprehensions. It was not improbable that the policy or the resentment of Warwick might induce him to send his patron to the scaffold, and to restore the ascendency of the ancient faith. But whatever might be his real feelings, the earl deemed it more prudent to confirm his control over the mind, by indulging the wishes of the young king, his repugnance to shed the blood of a second uncle, and his prejudices against the doctrine and worship of his fathers. Parliament had been prorogued to the beginning of November. When it assembled, Warwick seldom attended in his place, and affected to leave the members to the unbiassed exercise of their own judgment. Their first care was to prevent the return of the disgraceful and dangerous occurrences of the last year: and a bill was passed, making it felony for any persons to assemble to the number of twelve or more for

Nov. 4.

the purpose of abating the rents of farms or the price of provisions, or of destroying houses or parks, or of asserting a right to ways or commons, if they continued together one hour after they had been warned to disperse by proclamation from a magistrate, sheriff, or bailiff; and raising the offence to high treason, when the object of the meeting should be to alter the laws, or to kill or to imprison any member of the king's council.[87] At Christmas, to extinguish the hopes of those who still adhered to the ancient faith, a circular letter was sent to the clergy, informing them of the king's intention to proceed with the reformation: and commanding them to deliver up all books containing any portion of the former service, that they might be burnt or destroyed. But this proclamation did not satisfy the expectations of the more zealous among the gospellers, and an act was soon after passed, subjecting every individual, either clerk or layman, who should keep in his possession any such book, to a fine for the first and second offence, and to imprisonment during the king's pleasure for the third.[88] Moreover, as the church of England now possessed a new order of common prayer and administration of the sacra-

[87] St. 3 Ed. VI. 5.

[88] St. 3 Ed. VI. 10. The earl of Derby, the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Lichfield and Coventry, Worcester, Chichester, and Westminster, and the lords Morley, Stourton, Windsor and Wharton, voted against it. Journals, 384.

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ments, it was deemed proper that its ministers should be ordained after a new form: and it was enacted, that six prelates and six other persons learned in God's law should be appointed by the king to compose a manner of making and consecrating archbishops, bishops, priests and deacons: and that such manner, being set forth under the great seal before the first of April, should afterwards be lawfully used and exercised, and none other.[89] In the upper house some to the prelates drew a frightful picture of the national morals, and attributed the universal prevalence of vice to the manner in which the exercise of their jurisdiction had been suspended or enervated by successive acts of parliament and proclamations of the council. At their common solicitation leave was given to introduce a bill to restore to the episcopal courts a portion of their former authority. But its provisions were deemed to trench both on the powers now exercised by the crown, and on the liberties of the subject: the earl of Warwick attended in his place to oppose it, and on the first reading it was rejected without a division.

Submission and discharge of Somerset.

In the mean time the council was repeatedly occupied with the fate of the noble prisoner in the Tower. The articles prepared against him might be divided into three classes, charging

[89] St. 3 Ed. VI. 12. It was opposed by the bishops of Durham, Carlisle, Worcester, Chichester, and Westminster. Journals, 384.

him with obstinacy and incapacity during the late insurrection, with negligence in permitting the fortresses near Boulogne to fall into the hands of the French, and with presumption in rejecting the advice of the council, though he had been raised to the protectorship on the express condition that he should never act without its assent.[90] At length an intimation was given to him, that if he hoped for pardon, he must submit to a frank and unqualified acknowledgment of his guilt. The condition, though painful to his feelings, was gratefully accepted. On his knees he confessed his presumption, negligence and incapacity, subscribed the twenty-nine charges against him, and earnestly implored for mercy. Life was promised: but on condition that he should forfeit all his offices, his goods and chattels, and a portion of his lands to the yearly value of two thousand pounds. When, however, a bill of pains and penalties was introduced for this purpose, some of the peers ventured to make an objection, which no man would have dared to suggest during the last reign. They observed that by their precipitancy in such cases precedents might be established the most dangerous to the life and liberties of the subject: that before the house could ground any proceedings on the confession of Somerset, it was its

Dec. 23.

1550. Jan. 2.

[90] That the last charge was so far true, may be presumed from the letters of advice previously written by Paget to Somerset, on May 8, and July 7; apud Strype, ii. Rec. 107—114.

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duty to ascertain the motives which had induced him to sign it; and that a deputation ought to be appointed with power to interrogate him in the Tower. To this the ministers assented: the deputation on his return reported, that he had made the confession of his own free will, and to exonerate his conscience; and the bill, having passed through both houses without further opposition, received the royal assent. Somerset, however, had the courage to remonstrate against the severity of his punishment; and in order to extenuate his offences, appealed to the testimony of his conscience, and the uprightness of his intentions. But the council replied with harshness and warmth: the reprimand humbled him to the dust; and he signed a second and still more abject submission; in which he disclaimed all idea of justifying his conduct, threw himself without reserve on the mercy of his sovereign, and expressed his gratitude to the king and the council, that they had been content with a fine, when they might have justly taken his life.

Feb. 6. Within a few days he was discharged from the Tower, and received a pardon.[91] His friends, who had been imprisoned, recovered their liberty, but submitted to heavy fines: and, as if it had been resolved to execute justice with the strictest impartiality, the earl of Arundel and sir Richard Southwell, who had been among the

[91] Lords' Journals, 374, 375. Rym. xv. 205.

most active of his opponents, were severally mulcted for different offences, the first in the sum of twelve thousand, the other in that of five hundred pounds. This revolution was concluded as usual by rewards to the principal actors in it. The earl of Warwick obtained the offices of great master and lord high admiral, the marquess of Northampton that of great chamberlain, and the lords Russel and St. John, created earls of Bedford and Wiltshire, were appointed lord privy seal and lord treasurer. At the same time the earls of Arundel and Southampton, the supposed confidents of Warwick, were removed from the council: the former suffered a short confinement in his own house: the latter, after a lingering illness, died in the summer.[92]

Peace with France and Scotland.

While Warwick and his friends were thus employed in humbling the power of Somerset, they were harassed with apprehensions of the French war; and, notwithstanding the blame which they had thrown on the late protector, were compelled to adopt his measures, and to submit to the surrender of Boulogne. The French had interrupted the communication between that city and Calais; nor was the earl of Huntingdon able to re-open it, though he had taken with him all the bands of mercenaries, and three thousand English veterans. The treasury was

[92] Stow, 603. Rym. xv. 194. 203. 208. Strype, ii. 195.

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exhausted: the garrison suffered from want of provisions; and the enemy eagerly expected the return of spring to commence more active operations. A proposal was again made to the emperor to take Boulogne into his custody. This was followed by an offer to cede it to him in full sovereignty, on condition that it should never be restored to the crown of France. Both were refused; and as a last resource, Antonio Guidotti, a merchant of Florence, was employed to hint to the French ministers that the English cabinet was not adverse to a peace.[93] With the aid of this unaccredited agent a secret understanding was established: ambassadors were then named:

Jan. 21. and the conferences were opened. But the French, sensible of their superiority, dictated the conditions. To the proposal, that, as an equivalent for the surrender of Boulogne, Mary of Scotland should be contracted to Edward, they answered that Henry had already determined to marry her to his own son the dau-

Feb. 22. phin; and when it was demanded that at least the perpetual pension from France should be confirmed, and the arrears discharged, they indignantly replied, that their king would never condescend to pay tribute to a foreign crown;

[93] The English writers attribute the first employment of Guidotti to the French ministry, the French to the English. It is probable the latter are right, since in reward of his services he obtained from Edward a pension for life of 250*l.* per annum for himself, and of 35*l.* 10*s.* for his son. Rym. xv. 227. He was also knighted, and received a douceur of 250*l.* King Edward's Journal, 11.

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that Henry VIII. had availed himself of the accidental necessities of Francis to extort a pension from him; and that they with equal right would avail themselves of the present distress of the king of England to make him renounce it.[94] The English ambassadors assumed a tone equally haughty and repulsive: they even threatened to terminate the discussions: but their actions did not correspond with their words: each day they receded from some or other of their demands: and at length they subscribed to the terms imposed by their adversaries. The March 24. treaty was prefaced by a long and fulsome panegyric of the two kings; Henry and Edward were the best of princes, the two great luminaries of the christian world; personally they had no causes of enmity against each other; and as for the relics of that hostility which had divided their fathers, they were determined to suppress them for ever. With this view they had agreed, 1°. that there should be between the two crowns a peace, league, and union, which should last not only for their lives, but as long as time should endure: 2°. that Boulogne should be restored to the king of France with the ordnance and stores, which were found in it at the time of its capture; that in return for the expense of keeping up the fortifications Henry should pay to Edward two hundred thousand crowns at the

[94] See the letter of Paget, apud Strype, ii. Rec. p. 114.

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time of its delivery, and two hundred thousand more within five months; on condition that the English should previously surrender Dunglass and Lauder to the queen of Scots, or, if Dunglass and Lauder were not in their possession, should raze to the ground the fortresses of Roxburgh and Aymouth: 3°. that Scotland should be comprehended in this treaty, if the queen signified her acceptance of it within forty days: and that Edward should not hereafter make war upon her or her subjects, unless some new cause of offence were given: and lastly, that all the rights, claims and pretensions of England against France and Scotland, or of France and Scotland against England, should be mutually reserved. Though Warwick had signed the instructions to the ambassadors, he absented himself under pretence of sickness from the council on the day on which the treaty was confirmed. By the public the conditions were considered a national disgrace.[95] The sum of two millions of crowns, which Francis had consented to give for the surrender of Boulogne at the expiration of eight years, had been cut down to one fifth: the right of enforcing the treaty of marriage between Edward and Mary of Scotland had been abandoned: and the perpetual pension, which Henry VIII. had accepted in lieu of his claim to the crown of France, had been virtually surrendered. In fact

[95] Rym. xv. 211—217.

the pretensions of the former kings of England were after this treaty suffered to sleep in silence by their successors. They contented themselves with the sole title of kings of France, a barren but invidious distinction, which after two centuries and a half was wisely laid aside by the father of his present majesty.

Deprivation of Bonner.

Though the partisans of the new doctrines could depend with confidence on the support of the crown, the late commotions had proved to them that the reformation still rested on a very insecure foundation. Eleven twelfths of the nation retained a strong attachment to the creed of their fathers: the order for the introduction of the new liturgy had been reluctantly and negligently obeyed: the clergy, for the most part hostile to the cause, sought only to evade the penalties threatened by the statute; and the nobility and gentry were believed to dissemble their real sentiments, that they might earn the favour, or escape the displeasure of the court.[96] In these circumstances the archbishop proposed to purge the church of those prelates, whose disaffection was the most notorious; and to supply their places with men of approved zeal, and orthodox principles. The first on whom the

[96] This is acknowledged in a confidential letter from Paget to the protector, written July 7, 1549. "The use of the old religion is "forbidden by a law: and the use of the new is not yet printed in "the stomachs of eleven or [*of*] twelve parts of the realm, what countenance soever men make outwardly to please them in whom they "see the power resteth." Apud Strype, ii. Rec. 110.

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experiment was hazarded, was Bonner, bishop of London, whose apathy had long been the subject of complaint, but whose caution had preserved him from any open violation of the law.

1549. Aug. 9.

He was summoned before the council, received a severe reprimand, and was ordered to perform the new service at St. Paul's on every festival on which he and his predecessors had been accustomed to celebrate the high mass; to proceed in his court against all reputed adulterers, and such persons as absented themselves from the English liturgy, or refused to communicate according to the parliamentry form; and that he should preach at St. Paul's cross on the first of September, and afterwards once every three months, and should be present at every other sermon which should be made there. The subject for his own discourse was given him in writing, and divided into three parts. He was to shew, 1°. that "the rebels in Devonshire, "Cornwall, and Norfolk, did not only deserve "death as traitors, but accumulated to themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the "burning fire of hell, with Lucifer, the father "and first author of rebellion:" 2°. that in religion, God regards the internal disposition of the heart; that the regulation of the external service belongs to the supreme magistrate; that to disobey him is to disobey the command of God: and that of course to assist at the mass, which had been prohibited by royal authority, was not

to please, but to offend the Almighty: and 3°. that the right and power of the king in his tender years was not less than it had been in his predecessors, or would be in himself at a more advanced age.

At the appointed day crowds assembled to hear the prelate; many from curiosity, some for the purpose of censure. In his sermon, Sept. 1. Bonner, whether it was from accident or design, omitted the last part: the omission was observed and denounced to the council by Latimer and Hooper, two reformed preachers; and Cranmer Sept. 8. and Ridley, with Petre and Smith, the king's secretaries, and May, dean of St. Paul's, were appointed to try and punish the refractory prelate. Bonner appeared before his judges, with the undaunted air of a man who feels conscious that he suffers in a just cause. He had, he told them, "three things, a few goods, a poor car-"cass, and a soul: the two first were at their "disposal, but the last was at his own." He objected to his accusers that they were notorious heretics; excepted against Smith as his known enemy; and in a tone of pity and contempt, twitted the archbishop with his subserviency to men in power, and the inconstancy of his religious sentiments. Being compelled to answer upon oath the questions which were put to him, he acknowledged the omission, but attributed it to the imperfection of his memory, the loss of his notes, and the interruption caused by

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the order which he received, to announce from the pulpit a victory gained over the insurgents. He contended, however, that he had compensated for this involuntary error, by the eagerness with which he had declaimed against the rebels: and avowed his conviction that his real crime, though carefully kept out of sight, consisted in the freedom with which he had explained the catholic and established doctrine respecting the sacrament at the altar. It was in vain that he protested against the authority of the court; or that he appealed from it to the equity of the king. The archbishop pronounced
Oct. 4. the sentence of deprivation; and Bonner was remanded to the Marshalsea, where he remained a prisoner till the king's death.[97] To most men the sentence appeared an act of unwarrantable severity: his subsequent confinement, before he had given any new cause of offence, was cer-
1550. April 12. tainly repugnant to law and justice. Ridley, one of his judges, succeeded him in the see of London, but on conditions, which seemed to stamp a still more unfavourable character on the whole proceeding. The bishopric of Westminster was dissolved by royal authority: Rid-
April 12. ley accepted its lands and revenues, in exchange for the lands and revenues belonging to his own

[97] Fox, ii. 20—42. Burnet, ii. 121—127. The pretence for his imprisonment, was that "the commissioners now perceived more "in the matter than they did before, and that his behaviour was a "greater rebellion than he was aware of." Fox, 41.

church: and these, four days later, were divided among three of the principal lords at court, Rich, lord chancellor; Wentworth, lord chamberlain; and sir Thomas Darcy, vice-chamberlain.[98] CHAP. I. April 16.

The deprivation of Bonner would, it was hoped, intimidate and subdue the constancy of Gardiner, who had now remained for two years a prisoner in the tower, without being able to obtain a trial, or even a copy of the charges against him.[99] He was visited by a deputation from the council, and urged to subscribe a written form of submission. To those parts of it which approved the book of common prayer, and acknowledged in the king the powers with which the statute had invested him as the head of the church, he did not object: but no consideration could induce him to confess that he had offended, or to solicit the forgiveness of his sovereign. A second attempt was made: but, if on this occasion the form of submission was softened down, articles were added equally re- Deprivation of Gardiner. July 9. July 14.

[98] Strype, ii. 217, 218. The yearly value of the lands resigned by Ridley was 480*l.* 3*s.* 9¾*d.*, of those which he received in exchange, 526*l.* 19*s.* 9¼*d.*, but out of them the king reserved rents to the amount of 100*l.* Ibid.

[99] "Considerynge," says the council book, "the longe imprison-"ment that the bishope of Winchestere hath sustayned, it was now "thought time he should be spokene withall." The king's book of proceedings was sent to him, to which he replied, that "he could "make no direct answere, unless he were at libertie; and so beinge, "he would saye his conscyence," fol. 99.

CHAP. I.

pugnant to the opinions and feelings of the bishop. He was required to approve of the dissolution of monasteries, and the secularization of ecclesiastical property, of the homilies of archbishop Cranmer, and the paraphrase of Erasmus, and of every religious innovation which had been established by act of parliament or by order of the council. Gardiner replied, that he asked for no favour: he sought only a legal trial: he was willing to stand or fall by the law. To talk to him of subscriptions in prison, was unfair. Let them discharge him as an innocent man, and he would then do whatever his duty required; but were he to subscribe in the Tower, it would be said, that he had sacrificed his con-

July 19. science to purchase his liberty. He was next brought before the council: the articles were read in his presence: and he was asked whether he was willing to subscribe, as his majesty had commanded. He replied, that "in all things "that his majesty could lawfully command, he "was most ready to obey: but forasmuch as "there were divers things required of him, that "his conscience would not bear, therefore he "prayed them to have him excused:" and the sentence was immediately read by secretary Petre, that his revenue should be sequestrated from that day, and that, if he did not submit within three months, reckoning each month for a canonical monition, he should be deprived of

Dec. 14. his bishopric. At length a commission was

issued to the metropolitan, three bishops and six laymen, to proceed against him for contempt: but he defended himself with ability and perseverance; protested against some of the judges and of the evidence, as accomplices in a conspiracy against him, which originated about the close of the last reign, and had been continued to that day; and brought so many witnesses to prove his allegations, that, to prevent unpleasant disclosures, Cranmer cut short the proceedings, pronouncing him contumacious, and adjudging him to be deprived of his bishopric.[100] By order of the council, he was sent back to a meaner cell in the Tower, with instructions that no man should see him but one of the warders; that all his books and papers should be taken from him and examined; and that he should be refused the use of pen, ink, and paper.[101] Poynet, bishop of Rochester, succeeded him at Winchester: but on conditions similar to those, to which Ridley had consented on his translation to London. The new prelate surrendered to the crown all the revenues of that wealthy bishopric, and received in

1551. Feb. 14.

Feb. 15.

March 8.

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[100] Compare Fox (ii. 74—85), and Burnet (ii. 150, 165), with the council book, Harl. MSS. 352, and the extracts published by Mr. Ellis, in the Archæologia, 18. 135—146. 150—152.

[101] The chief reason assigned for this severity was that "on the "daye of his judgment given againste him, he called his judges "heretiques and sacramentarys, they beinge there the kinge's commis-"sioneres, and of his highnes counsell." Council book, fol. 152.

CHAP. I.

return rectories and lands to the yearly value of two thousand marks. A large portion of the spoil was reserved for the friends of the earl of Warwick: sir Thomas Wroth was gratified with a pension for life of one hundred pounds: and Gates, Hobey, Seymour, Dudley, Nevil, and Fitzwilliams obtained still more valuable grants of lordships and manors, for themselves and their heirs for ever.[102]

Of Day and Heath.

There were two other prelates prisoners in the Tower, Heath bishop of Worcester, and Day bishop of Chichester, both distinguished by their learning, their moderation, and their attachment to the ancient creed. Heath, though he had voted against the bill for a new ordinal, was named one of the commissioners: probably for the purpose of procuring matter of com-

1550. Feb. 8.

plaint against him. He disapproved of the form devised by his eleven colleagues: the council commanded him to subscribe it: and his refusal

March 4.

was punished with imprisonment for "contempt."[103] Day had offended in a different

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[102] Strype, ii. 273.

[103] Burnet, ii. 143. This ordinal gave rise to a fierce and acrimonious controversy between the two parties: the one maintaining that, though it omitted a number of ceremonies, the inventions of later ages, it had preserved whatever according to scripture was necessary for the ordination of bishops, priests, and deacons: the other, that it had been compiled chiefly by men, who considered ordination as an unnecessary rite (see vol. vi. p. 412): and on that account had carefully omitted what was requisite to impart the sacerdotal character, and that it made no material distinction

point. As the ancient liturgy had been commuted for the communion service, the sacrifice of the mass for the supper of the Lord, it was proposed to substitute in the churches tables in the place of altars, which, with their plate, and jewels, and decorations, would supply a new harvest to the rapacity of the royal favourites.[104] The attempt was first made by a few unauthorised individuals; it was followed by an experiment on a larger scale in the diocese of London, under the protection of bishop Ridley: and at last the council, alleging the danger of dissension, issued a general injunction to the bishops to remove the altars in their respective dioceses.[105] Day replied that his conscience would not permit him to obey: and though he was allowed four days to deliberate, though Cranmer and Ridley were commissioned to instruct and convert him, he still answered, that he "thought it a less evil to suffer the body to "perish, than to corrupt the soul with that his "conscience would not bear." He was committed for this contempt to the Fleet:[106] a court

Nov. 24.

Nov. 30.

Dec. 7.

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between the office of priest and bishop. Under Mary the statute authorising the ordinal was repealed, and the ordinations made in conformity with it, were reputed invalid: under Elizabeth it was re-enacted: and one or two improvements were added to meet some of the principal difficulties. In its favour see Mason de Ministerio Anglicano, l. ii. c. 15, 16, 17: the chief arguments against it have been collected by Dodd, Hist. ii. 278—290.

[104] Heylin, 95. [105] Wilk. Counc. iv. 65.

[106] Council Book, f. 140, 141.

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1551. Oct. 1.

of delegates the next year deprived him and Heath of their bishoprics ;[107] and both, notwithstanding this punishment, were kept in custody till the commencement of the next reign.[108]

Troubles of the lady Mary.

There still remained one individual whose conversion in the estimation of the reformers would have balanced the opposition of a whole host of bishops, the lady Mary, the sister of Edward, and the presumptive heir to the crown. She had embraced the first opportunity of expressing to the protector her dislike of further innovation, and her wish that religion might, during the minority of the king, be preserved in the same state in which it had been left by her royal father : but Somerset replied, that his object was to accomplish the real intentions of Henry, who on his death-bed had deeply regretted that he could not live to complete the

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[107] Great attempts were previously made to prevail on them to conform. But Heath told the council that "of other mynde he "thought never to be, adding that there may be many other thinges "whereunto he would not consent, yf he were demaunded, as to "take down alteres, and set up tables." He was then threatened with deprivation, if he did not submit within two days: but he replied, that "he could not fynde in his conscyence to do it, and "should be well contente to abyde such ende either by deprivacōn "or otherwise as pleased the kinges ma^tie." Ibid. f. 200.

[108] Day, after two years' imprisonment, petitioned for his discharge, on the ground that deprivation was sufficient punishment for a conscientious dissent from an injunction : but added, that if this indulgence "were to be bought at the hazard of his conscience, "he thought it better to want it, than to purchase so poor a com-"modity at so dear a rate." His petition was refused. Strype, ii. 391.

reformation. The statute for uniformity of worship quickly supplied him with the power of putting her constancy to the test. Its framers appear to have taken for their model the intolerance of the German reformers. Not only did they introduce the new liturgy into the national churches and chapels: but, as the reader will remember, they had invaded the secrecy of the closet; and enacted severe penalties against every priest who should celebrate, every lay man or woman who should attend where a priest celebrated mass, even in a private house. Mary received an admonition that she must conform to the provisions of the statute. She replied that she did not consider it binding in conscience; reminded the lords that they had sworn to observe the laws respecting religion which had been established by her father; hinted that they could not with decency refuse so small an indulgence as liberty of worship to the daughter of him, who had raised *them* from nothing to their present rank and authority; and at last appealed from their intolerance to the powerful protection of her cousin the emperor. It chanced to be the very time, when the English cabinet solicited the aid of that prince for the preservation of Boulogne: after a short debate, policy prevailed over fanaticism; and at the imperial intercession the indulgence which Mary had prayed for, was reluctantly granted. But after the conclusion of peace with France, the friend-

1549. June 22.

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ship of Charles appeared of less importance, and she was repeatedly harassed with messages from the council, and with letters from her brother. The young king maintained that he possessed as great authority in religious matters as had been possessed by his father; and declared that his love of God, and his affection for his sister, forbade him to tolerate her obstinacy: still he preferred mildness to severity, and was willing to supply her with teachers who might instruct her ignorance, and refute her errors. Her reasoning, and complaints, and remonstrances, were now equally fruitless. The permission which had been granted at the request of the emperor, was explained to have been limited in its duration to a few months, and to have been confined to her own person, with the exclusion of her

1550. April 19. household. The application of the ambassador in her favour, was met with a prompt and peremptory refusal; and on a rumour of her in-

Aug. 14. tention to quit the kingdom, a fleet was equipped to intercept the communication between the coast of Norfolk, and the opposite shore. Soon

Dec. afterwards indictments under the statute were found against two of her chaplains: and at the royal invitation Mary herself consented to meet in person the lords of the council. They parted

1551. March 18. mutually dissatisfied with each other. She asserted that "her soul was God's, and that she "would neither change her faith, nor dissemble "her opinion:" they replied, that "the king did

" not constrain her faith, but insisted that she " should obey like a subject, and not rule like a " sovereign." [109]

Her chaplains are prevented from saying mass.

The next day the ambassador came to her aid with a denunciation of war from the emperor, if Edward should presume to violate the solemn promise which he had given in her favour. This unexpected menace perplexed the orthodoxy of the council. On the one hand by precipitation they would expose to the mercy of an enemy the goods of the English merchants, the equipments of the gens d'armes, and fifteen hundred quintals of gunpowder in the depot in Flanders: on the other hand the young king had persuaded himself that he could not conscientiously suffer his sister to practise any longer an idolatrous worship, to persist in the daily commission of a sin to damnation. The metropolitan, with Ridley and Poynet, the two new bishops of London and Rochester, was commissioned to lay the spirit which he had raised: and they, to convince the royal theologian, strongly maintained that " though to give licence to sin, was sin, yet " to suffer and wink at it for a time might be " borne, so all haste possible were used." With reluctance Edward submitted to the authority of these grave and reverend fathers; but lamented with tears the blind infatuation of his sister, whose obstinacy he could not convince by ar-

March 19

[109] Edward's Journal, 21.

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ment, nor was suffered to restrain by due course of law.[110]

The next object of the council was to gain time for the removal of the stores and ammunition in Flanders to an English port. With this view, the ambassador was told that the king would return an answer by a messenger of his

March 22. own: and a month later Dr. Wotton was dispatched to represent to the emperor that the promise given by Edward was of a temporary nature; that the liturgy adopted in England was only a revival of the service used in the first ages; that conformity was enjoined by a statute which bound all men, even the king himself; and that to overlook disobedience in the first subject in the realm, would be to encourage disobedience in others. At the same time to proceed with impartiality, it was determined to punish the offenders first in the royal household, then in that of the princess. Of the king's

March 24. servants sir Anthony Brown, and serjeant Morgan, were sent to the Fleet, and sir Clement

May 2. Smith received a severe reprimand: from the family of the princess, Dr. Mallett, the head chaplain, was selected for an example, and committed to close custody in the Tower.[111] An active correspondence ensued;[112] Mary demand-

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[110] Edward's Journal, 21. Burnet, ii. 172.

[111] Ibid. Edward's Journ. 24. Strype, ii. 252.

[112] Many of the letters which were written on this occasion are extant. The council persist in asserting that the innovations in

ing the enlargement of her chaplain, the council requiring that she should conform to the law. At length Rochester, Waldgrave and Inglefield, the chief officers in her household, were commanded to prevent the use of the ancient service in the house, and to communicate this order to the servants and chaplains of their mistress. Having consulted her, they returned to the council, and offered to submit to any punishment, rather than undertake what "they could "not find in their hearts or consciences to per- "form." They were committed to the Tower for contempt:[113] and the lord chancellor, sir

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Aug. 9.

Aug. 23.

religion do not affect its substance. "Our greatest change," they say, "is not in the substance of our faith, no, not in one article of "our creed. Only the difference is that we use the ceremonies, "observations, and sacraments of our religion, as the apostles and "first fathers in the primitive church did. You use the same that "corruption of time brought in, and very barbarousness and igno- "rance nourished; and seem to hold for custom against truth, and "we for truth against custom." She declined entering into the controversy, and contended that the king was too young to understand such matters. "Give me leave," she says, "to write what "I think touching your Majesty's letters. Indeed they be signed "with your own hand: and nevertheless, in my opinion, not your "majesty's in effect. Because, it is well known, that although "(our Lord be praised) your majesty hath far more knowledge and "greater gifts than any others of your years, yet it is not possible "that your highness can be judge in matters of religion. And "therefore I take it that the matter in your letter proceedeth from "such as do wish these things to take place, which be most agree- "able to themselves: by whose doings (your majesty not offended) "I intend not to rule my conscience." Fox, ii. 49. 52.

[113] They were to be kept in close custody, without pen, ink, and paper, and with a servant in the cell of each prisoner to observe his conduct. Council Book, 194. After confinement for more than

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Aug. 26. Anthony Wyngfield, and sir William Petre, proceeding to Copped Hall, the residence of the princess, announced to her, her chaplains and servants, the royal pleasure. *These*, after a short demur, promised obedience: *she* replied: "Rather than use any other service than was "used at the death of the late king my father, I "will lay my head on a block and suffer death. "When the king's majesty shall come to such "years that he may be able to judge these things "himself, his majesty shall find me ready to "obey his orders in religion: but now, though "he, good sweet king, have more knowledge "than any other of his years, yet it is not pos-"sible that he can be a judge of these things. "If my chaplains do say no mass, I can hear "none. They may do therein as they will: but "none of your new service shall be used in my "house, or I will not tarry in it." [114]

After this period we hear no more of an affair, which, trifling as it was in itself, seems to have been considered of sufficient importance to endanger the existence of the amity between England and the imperial dominions. It is probable that Mary continued to hear mass, but in greater privacy: and that the council deemed it prudent to connive at that, which it soon became dan-

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six months they were allowed to go to their own houses as prisoners, March 18th, and were set at liberty April 24th. Strype, ii. 256.

[114] See the extracts from the Council Book by Mr. Ellis, printed in the Archæologia, xviii. 154—166.

gerous to notice. For the declining health of the king directed every eye towards the princess as his successor. She occasionally visited her sick brother: and the state which she assumed, was calculated to overawe her opponents. She was attended by one hundred and fifty or two hundred knights and gentlemen on horseback: and this retinue was generally augmented by the spontaneous accession of some of the first personages both male and female in the kingdom.[115]

Executions for heresy.

Though the statutes against heresy had been repealed in the first year of the king's reign, still the profession of erroneous doctrine was held to be an offence punishable by the common law of the realm. It might indeed have been hoped that men, who had writhed under the lash of persecution, would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. But, however forcibly the reformers had claimed the privilege of judging for themselves under the late king, they were not disposed to concede it to others, when they themselves came into the exercise of power. As long, indeed, as they contended that their innovations trenched not on the substance of the ancient faith, the men of the old learning were secure from prosecutions for heresy: they could be proceeded against only for a breach of the statute of uniformity, or for contempt of the royal authority. But among the new

[115] See in particular Strype, ii. 372.

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teachers themselves there were men, whose discoveries were calculated to excite in the breasts of their more orthodox brethren feelings of alarm and abhorrence. Some taught that the prohibition of bigamy was a papal invention; and that it was lawful for any man at his option to have one or two wives, and for any wife to have one or two husbands: others that to admit the government of a king was to reject the government of God: and many that children baptized in infancy should be afterwards re-baptized: that human laws were not to be obeyed: that no Christian ought to bear any office in the commonwealth: that oaths are unlawful: that Christ did not take flesh of the Virgin: that sinners cannot be restored to grace by repentance; and that all things are and ought to be in common.[116]

Of these doctrines some by denying the incarnation were deemed to sap the very foundations of Christianity; others tended to convulse the established order of society: the lords of the council were anxious to repel the charge of encouraging tenets, which in the eyes of Europe would reflect disgrace on the English reformation: and commissions were repeatedly issued, appointing by letters patent the archbishop, several prelates, and certain distinguished divines and civilians, inquisitors of heretical pra-

[116] St. 3 Ed. VI. 24. Strype, ii. 12. 90.

vity. In these instruments it was asserted to be the duty of kings, especially of one who bore the title of defender of the faith, to check the diffusion of error by the punishment of its abettors, to prevent the gangrene from reaching the more healthy parts by the amputation of the diseased member; and, therefore, as Edward himself could not at all times attend to this important concern, he delegated to the inquisitors and commissaries power to enforce the statute of uniformity against all offenders, to hear and determine all causes of heresy, and to admit the repentant to abjuration, but to deliver the obstinate to the arm of the civil power.[117]

Burning of Bocher and Von Parris.

The first who appeared before the archbishop was Champneis, a priest who had taught that Christ was not God, that grace was inamissible, and that the regenerate, though they might fall by the outward, could never sin by the inward, man: he was followed by Puttow, a tanner, Thumb, a butcher, and Ashton, a priest, who had embraced the tenets of unitarianism. Terror or conviction induced them to abjure: they were sworn never to revert to their former opinions, and publicly bore faggots during the sermon at St. Paul's cross.[118] But no fear of punishment

[117] Rym. xv. 181. 250. In these commissions are inserted the names of Cranmer, Ridley, Thurlby, Redman, Latimer, Coverdale, Parker, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury, secretaries Petre and Cecil, Cheek, the king's tutor, and several others.

[118] Wilk. Con. iv. 39—42. Stow, 596.

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could subdue the obstinacy of a female preacher, Joan Bocher of Kent. During the last reign she had rendered important services to the reformers by the clandestine importation of prohibited books, which, through the agency of the noted Anne Askew, she conveyed to the ladies at court. She was now summoned before the inquisitors Cranmer, Smith, Cook, Latimer, and Lyell, and was charged with maintaining that "Christ did not take flesh of the outward man "of the Virgin, because the outward man was "conceived in sin, but by the consent of the in- 1549. April 31 "ward man, which was undefiled." In this unintelligible jargon she persisted to the last: and when the archbishop excommunicated her as a heretic, and ordered her to be delivered to the secular power, she replied: "It is a goodly mat- "ter to consider your ignorance. It was not "long ago that you burned Anne Askew for a "piece of bread; and yet came yourselves soon "after to believe and profess the same doctrine "for which you burned her: and now, forsooth, "you will needs burn me for a piece of flesh, "and in the end will come to believe this also, "when you have read the scriptures and under- "stand them."

From the unwillingness of Edward to consent to her execution, a year elapsed before she suffered. It was not that his humanity revolted from the idea of burning her at the stake: in his estimation she deserved the severest punishment which

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the law could inflict. But the object of his compassion was the future condition of her soul in another world. He argued that as long as she remained in error, she remained in sin, and that to deprive her of life in that state was to consign her soul to everlasting torments. Cranmer was compelled to moot the point with the young theologian: the objection was solved by the example of Moses, who had condemned blasphemers to be stoned: and the king with tears put his signature to the warrant. The bishops of London and Ely made in vain a last attempt to convert Bocher. She preserved her constancy at the very stake: and, when the preacher, Dr. Scory, undertook to refute her opinion, exclaimed that "he lied like a rogue, and had "better go home and study the scripture."[119]

The next victim was Von Parris, a Dutchman, and a surgeon in London. He denied the divinity of Christ, and, having been excommunicated by his brethren of the Dutch church in that capital, was arraigned before Cranmer, Ridley, May, Coverdale, and several others. Coverdale acted as interpreter: but the prisoner refused to abjure; and a few days later was committed to the flames.[120]

1551. April 6.

April 24.

But while the expression of unitarian sentiments was thus proscribed, under the penalty of

Employment of foreign divines.

[119] Wilk. Con. iv. 42, 43. Edward's Journal, 12. Heylin, 89. Strype, ii. 214.

[120] Wilk. Con. iv. 44, 45. Stow, 605. Edward's Journal, 24.

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death by burning, and the exercise of the ancient worship, under that of a long or perpetual imprisonment, a convenient latitude of practice and opinion was conceded to the strangers, whom the fear of persecution, or the advantages of commerce, induced to settle in England. Foreign religionists, of every nation and every sect, Frenchmen and Italians, Germans, Poles, and Scots, were assured of an asylum in the palace of the archbishop. He procured for them livings in the church and protection at court; and in return he called on them to aid his efforts in enlightening the ignorance, and dispelling the prejudices of his own countrymen. John Knox was appointed chaplain to the king, and itinerant preacher throughout the kingdom: Utenhoff and Pierre Alexandre remained at Canterbury to purge the clergy from the leaven of popery; Faggio, Tremelio, and Cavalier were licensed to read lectures on the Hebrew language at Cambridge; Martyr and Bucer undertook to teach the new theology in the two universities; and Joannes a Lasco, Valerandus Pollanus, and Angelo Florio, were named by patent superintendents and preachers in the congregations of strangers established in London and at Glastonbury.[121] Many, however, disputed the policy of thus authorizing independent churches of foreign dissenters, at a time when conformity was so

[121] Strype's Cranmer, 194. 234. 242. Strype's Memorials, ii. 121. 205. 240.

rigorously exacted from the natives; or of intrusting the education of the clergy, and the revision of doctrinal matters, to men, who, whatever might be their merit and acquirements, differed in several important points from the established creed, and unceasingly laboured to assimilate in doctrine and practice the prelatic church of England to the Calvinistic churches abroad.

Obstinacy of Hooper.

These foreigners, however, accommodated their consciences to the existing order of things, so far as to tolerate what they hoped might be afterwards reformed;[122] but there was a native preacher of more unbending principles, whose scruples or whose obstinacy proved dangerous both to himself, and to the cause which he espoused. John Hooper, by his activity, his fervid declamation, and his bold though intemperate zeal, had deserved the applause and gratitude of the well-wishers to the new doctrines. Edward named him to the bishopric of Gloucester; when the preacher himself opposed an unexpected obstacle to his own promotion. How could *he* swear obedience to the metropolitan, who was determined to obey no spiritual authority but that of the scriptures? How could he submit to wear the episcopal habits, the livery of

1550. July 3.

[122] I should except Knox, who had the honesty to refuse a living, because "many things were worthy of reformation in England, "without the reformation whereof, no minister did or could dis- "charge his conscience before God." Strype, ii. 399.

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that church, which he had so often denominated the harlot of Babylon? Cranmer and Ridley attempted to convince him by argument, and to influence him by authority: Bucer reminded him that to the pure all things are pure: and Peter Martyr contended that the wearing of episcopal habits, though meet in his opinion to be abolished, was yet an indifferent matter, in which the most timorous might conscientiously acquiesce: on the other hand the Helvetic divines applauded his consistency: the earl of Warwick conjured the archbishop to yield in favour of his extraordinary merit: and the king promised to

Aug. 4.

protect that prelate from the penalties, to which he might subject himself by swerving from the ordinal.[123] But Cranmer was unwilling to incur the danger of a præmunire: and Hooper not only refused to submit, but published a justification of his conduct, and from the pulpit declaimed against the habits, the ordinal, and the council. The new church was on the point of being torn into fragments, by the intemperance of her own children; when the royal authority in-

1551. Jan. 27.

terposed, and committed the refractory preacher to the Fleet. In the confinement of a prison, the fervour of his imaginatisn gradually cooled; the rigour of his conscience relaxed; he conde-

[123] Council book, 144. 147. Strype's Cranmer, 211. Memorials, ii. Rec. 126. Burnet, ii. 152. Collier, ii. 293. Some have supposed that he objected not to the oath of obedience, but to the oath of supremacy. Id. 307.

scended to put on the polluted habit; he took the obnoxious oath; he accepted from the king a patent, empowering him to govern the diocese of Glocester; and fourteen months later was transferred to the united bishopric of Glocester and Worcester. By this union a wider field was opened for the exercise of his zeal; but at the same time an ample source was supplied for the depredations of the courtiers. With a double diocese he retained a less income: the larger portion of the revenues of the two sees was destined to be divided among the men, who at this period were actively employed in carving out of the possessions of the church, fortunes for themselves and their posterity.[124]

March.

New dissensions between Somerset and Warwick.

While the nation was thus distracted by religious quarrels, the court was again thrown into confusion by a new dissension between Somerset and Warwick. The duke had come out of the Tower, stripped of wealth, office, and influence: he was in a certain degree restored to all by the pity of his nephew, and the policy, perhaps the humanity, of his rival. A general pardon freed him from the danger of subsequent prosecution: his bonds were cancelled, his personal property was restored: the king received him at court, admitted him again into the council, and appointed him a lord of the bedchamber. The former

1550. Feb. 10.

March 31.

[124] Rym. xv. 297—303. 320. Strype, ii. 355—357.

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June 3.

friendship of Warwick and the duke seemed to revive: and their reconciliation was apparently cemented by the union of their families, in the marriage of lord Lisle, the earl's eldest son, with Anne, one of the daughters of Somerset. The king, accompanied by his court, graced the ceremony with his presence. He rejoiced at the restoration of harmony in his council, of friendship between an uncle whom he loved, and a minister whom he prized: but his joy was quickly interrupted by the renewal of their former jealousies and dissension. Somerset could not forget what he had suffered: Warwick dared not trust the man whom he had injured. The duke aspired again to the office of protector: the earl determined not to descend from his present superiority. Their fears and suspicions led them to attribute to each other the most dangerous designs: both were beset with spies and informers: both were deceived and exasperated by false friends and interested advisers. But Warwick possessed the advantage over his adversary in the council, which was principally composed of his associates, and in the palace, where the king was surrounded with his creatures. Somerset, to aid his views, had sought by private agents, to secure the votes of several among the peers in the next parliament; and to recover his influence with his nephew, he requested the lord Strange, the royal favourite, to

CHAP. I.

suggest to Edward a marriage with the lady Anne Seymour, his third daughter.[125] Into the first of these attempts an inquiry was instituted, but afterwards abandoned: the second was defeated by the resolution of the council to demand for their sovereign the hand of Elizabeth, the eldest daughter of the king of France. It is probable that on this occasion some menaces were thrown out. The lord Gray hastily departed for the northern counties: and Somerset had prepared to follow him, when he was detained by the asseveration of sir William Herbert, that no injury was intended. A second reconciliation ensued: for some days costly entertainments were given alternately by the lords

1551. Feb. 16.

April 24.

[125] It appears from a letter of Warwick, dated Jan. 22, and published by Strype (ii. 278), that during the winter the council had deliberated on a secret matter of extreme importance: that it required the greatest "vigilance and circumspection:" that the chancellor and treasurer wished "to wrap it up in silence," because it was "not expedient it should come in question:" but that he (Warwick) wished it to be "reformed, seeing it had been so far "debated." He makes use of these remarkable expressions: "God "preserve our master! If he should fail, there is watchers enough "that would bring it in question, and would burden you and others, "who will not now understand the danger, to be deceivers of the "whole body of the realm with an instrument forged to execute "your malicious meanings." It appears to me that he alludes to the will of Henry VIII. Lord Paget, to whom the letter was written, did acknowledge in the next reign that the signature to it was a forgery (Lesley, p. 98); and an instrument had been lately devised, as if it were intended to remedy this defect. By it Edward ratified whatever had hitherto been done by his council, and gave them full power to act in his name hereafter. See it in Strype, ii. Rec. 139.

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of each party: and the rival chiefs lavished on each other demonstrations of friendship, while the bitterest animosity was festering in their breasts.[126]

Treaty of marriage between Edward and a French princess. July 19.

The marquess of Northampton, attended by three earls, the eldest sons of Somerset and Warwick, and several lords and gentlemen, proceeded to Paris, to invest the king of France with the order of the garter, and to seek a wife for his sovereign. His first demand, of the young queen of Scotland, was instantly refused: his second, of the princess Elizabeth, was as readily granted. The negociators agreed that as soon as Elizabeth had completed her twelfth year, she should be married to Edward; that her portion should be fixed at 200,000 crowns; and that her dower should be 10,000 marks, "the "same as the dower of the most illustrious lady "Catharine, daughter of Ferdinand king of Cas-"tile, or of any other queen of England, lately "married to Henry of happy memory, king of "England."[127] To return the compliment, the French king sent to his destined son-in-law his order of St. Michael, by the marshal St. André, who was accompanied by a numerous retinue. This minister was received on his landing by the gentlemen of the county to the amount of 1000 horsemen, and avoiding the capital on account

[126] Edward's Journal, 22, 39.
[127] Ibid. 25. Rym. xv. 273.

of the sweating sickness,[128] visited the king at Hampton court, where he was sumptuously entertained by Edward himself, by the duke of Somerset, and by the earl of Warwick. At his departure he received several valuable presents.[129] July 31.

Arrest of Somerset and his friends.

These tranquil and festive occupations did not, however, harmonize with the projects of revenge and bloodshed which were secretly meditated by the two rivals. Somerset, probably for his own security, kept a strong body of armed men within his house; debated with his friends the expediency of an attempt to raise the city; and sometimes hinted that assassination alone could free him from the persecution of his enemies. But his timidity and imprudence were no match for the caution and decision of Warwick. That nobleman was apprised of all his designs; to cut off his hope of an asylum in the northern counties, he procured for himself the general wardenship of the Scottish marches, with all that pre- Sept. 27. eminence and authority, which had ever been possessed by any former warden since the reign

[128] "This sweat was more vehement than the old sweat: for, if "one took cold, he died within three hours, and if he escaped, it "held him but nine hours, or ten at the most. Also if he slept the "first six hours, as he should be very desirous to do, then he "roved, and should die roving." Edward's Journal, 30. The deaths in London, on July 10th, amounted to 100; July 11th, to 120; in eleven days, from the 8th to the 19th, to 872. Strype, ii. 277. 279.

[129] I observe that the presents given by the English, exceeded in value those given by the French monarch. St. André received to the value of 3000l.; Northampton to that of 500l. Journ. 32.

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Oct. 11.

of Richard II.; and within a few days was honoured with the title of duke of Northumberland, which had long been extinct in consequence of the attainder of the lord Thomas Percy in 1537. At the same time to strengthen the attachment of his friends, he prevailed on the king to create the marquess of Dorset duke of Suffolk,[130] the earl of Wiltshire marquess of Winchester, sir William Herbert, baron of Cardiff, and earl of Pembroke, and to confer on Cecil, Cheek, Sidney, and Nevil, the honour of knighthood. Somerset began to suspect that depositions had been sworn against him: he interrogated at his own house Palmer, one of the informers, but upon his denial permitted him to depart; and next inquired of Cecil, the secretary, who replied, that if the duke were innocent, he had nothing to fear; if guilty, he (Cecil) could only lament his misfortune. To this ambiguous answer he returned a letter of defiance: but spent the evening and the next morning in useless consultations; and in the afternoon, going to the court at Westminster, was arrested with lord Gray, and sent to the Tower. The next day the dutchess with her favourites, Mr. and Mrs. Crane, and sir Thomas Holcroft, sir Michael Stanhope, sir Thomas Arundel, sir

[130] He had married Frances the eldest daughter of Charles Brandon, duke of Suffolk, by Mary, sister of Henry VIII. Her two brothers, Henry, duke of Suffolk, and the lord Charles, had died during the late sickness. Strype, ii. 277.

Miles Partridge, with several others, were committed to the same prison; and these were followed at short intervals by the lord Paget, the earl of Arundel, and the lord Dacres of the north.

Soon afterwards the several bodies corporate within the city assembled at their different halls: where they were informed by a message from the king that the conspirators had determined to seize the Tower, obtain possession of the broad seal, set fire to the city, and depart to the Isle of Wight: and on that account they were ordered to guard the gates with care, and to keep up strong patroles in the streets.[131]

Arrival of the dowager queen of Scotland.

While preparations were making for the trial of the prisoners, the thoughts of Edward were diverted from the approaching fate of his uncle by the presence of a royal visitor, the queen dowager of Scotland, who on her return from France to that kingdom had cast anchor in the harbour of Portsmouth. At the request of Henry she had obtained permission to continue her journey by land: and, to do her honour, the gentlemen of each county received orders to attend upon her as she passed. Her former hostility to the interests of England gave her no claim on the friendship of Edward: but to please the king of France, it had been determined to treat her with extraordinary respect: she was invited to the capital, and introduced to the

Oct. 22.

[131] Edward's Journal, 37.

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young king, who met her in the great hall, kissed her, took her by the hand, and conducted her to her chamber. They dined together in state, and after her departure he sent her a valuable diamond.. She left London attended
Nov. 6. by a numerous retinue of ladies and gentlemen, and at the gate received a present of one hundred marks from the city.[132]

Depositions against Somerset.

The marquess of Winchester had been appointed lord steward for the trial of Somerset. Twenty-seven peers were summoned as judges; among whom sate Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, the known enemies of the accused. The indictment, which had been found at Guildhall by the grand jury of the city, accused the duke of traitorously conspiring with divers others to depose the king from his royal estate, and of feloniously inciting several of the king's subjects to take and imprison the earl of Warwick, one of the privy counsellors. The witnesses, instead of an examination in open
Nov. 30. court, were called, on the day preceding the trial, before the lords of the council and twenty-two peers and noblemen, in whose presence they made oath that they were not influenced by force or fear, envy or malice, that they had deposed to nothing which was not true, and that they had shewn to the duke of Somerset as much

[132] Archæolog. xviii. 168. Edward's Journal, 37—39. Strype, ii. 284.

favour as their consciences would allow. From their depositions, if they may be credited, it seems to have been the plan of the conspirators, that the lord Gray should levy forces, in the northern counties; that lord Paget should invite Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, to dine with him at his house in the Strand; that Somerset's band of one hundred cavalry should intercept them in the way, or, if they were numerously attended, should assassinate them at table; and that the duke having raised the city, should lead his horsemen, 2000 infantry under Crane, and the populace to attack the gens d'armes of the guard. In addition it appeared that he kept near his chamber at Greenwich a watch of twenty armed men to prevent his arrest.

His trial. Dec. 1.

The duke in his defence contended that the evidence of some of the witnesses ought to be expunged, because they were his men, and bound to him by oaths of fealty; he required, but in vain, that Crane should be confronted with him; he denied that he ever meant to levy men in the north, or to raise the city of London; he asserted that the guard at Greenwich was intended only as a protection from illegal violence; and maintained that the idea of charging the gens d'armes was two extravagant to enter into the mind of any man, whose intellect was not deranged. But on that part of the charge which touched him more nearly, the design of assas-

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sinating the lords, he appeared to hesitate. It was indeed true, he said, that he had spoken of it. He had even entertained the notion. But he solemnly declared, that after mature consideration he had rejected it for ever.

He is condemned.

The peers deliberated for some time on their verdict. They acquitted him of treason, but unanimously found him guilty of having conspired to seize and imprison the earl of Warwick, one of the privy counsellors; an offence which, by an act of the third of the king, had been made felony without benefit of clergy.[133] As soon as the sentence had been pronounced, Somerset fell on his knees, thanked the lords for their impartial conduct during the trial, asked pardon of Northumberland, Northampton, and Pembroke, whose lives he confessed that he had sought to take, begged them to solicit the king for mercy in his behalf, and recommended his wife and children to the pity of his nephew. The moment he was acquitted

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[133] That he was found guilty by the whole body, and not by a majority only, is plain from the Record: quilibet eorum separatim dixerunt quod prædictus Edvardus nuper dux Somers.; de feloniis prædictis fuit culpabilis. Coke's Entries, fol. 482. Neither is it true that this was only felony, when the party continued together after proclamation to separate; for there is another part of the same act, which, without mention of any proclamation, makes it felony for any person after the twelfth of February, "to stir or move others to arise "or make any traitorous or rebellious assembly, to the intent to do, "or exercise, or put in use any of the things above mentioned." St. 3 Ed. VI. 5.

of treason, the axe of the Tower was withdrawn: the populace, seeing him leave the court without it, conceived that he had been liberated, and expressed their joy by loud and reiterated acclamations.[134]

And executed.

After his condemnation, and in the solitude of his cell, Somerset had leisure to compare his situation with that of the lord admiral, in the same place, not three years before. The duke had indeed enjoyed an indulgence, which he had refused to his unfortunate brother, a public trial by his peers. But could he expect that the ambition of Warwick would prove less jealous or inexorable than his own: that an enemy would extend to him that mercy, which he had withheld from one of his own blood? He made indeed the experiment; but every avenue to the throne was closed: his nephew was convinced of his guilt, and of the expedience of his punishment; and he received for answer that he must pay the forfeit of his life, but should have a long respite to prepare himself for death. Six weeks after his trial the warrant for his execution was signed;[135] and at an early hour, eight in the

[134] See Edward's Journal, 41, 42, his letter to Fitzpatric in Fuller (vii. 409), and Coke's Entries, 482. Those who in despite of these authorities, persist, like Burnet (ii. 178), in asserting the innocence of the duke, are compelled to make a number of gratuitous suppositions, not one of which receives any support from contemporary evidence.

[135] Rym. xv. 295. We are told that the king was kept from reflection by a continued series of occupations and amusements: yet

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1552. Jan. 22.

morning, he was delivered to the sheriffs of London, and by them conducted to the scaffold on Tower Hill. An immense crowd had already assembled. The duke's attention to the poor during his protectorship, and his constant opposition to the system of enclosures, had created him many friends among the lower classes, who hastened to witness his end, but still flattered themselves with a hope of a reprieve. In his address from the scaffold, he said, that he had always been a true subject to the king, and on that account was now willing to lay down his life in obedience to the law; that on a review of his past conduct, there was nothing which he regretted less than his endeavours to reduce religion to its present state: and that he exhorted the people to profess it and practise it, if they wished to escape those visitations with which heaven was prepared to punish their offences. At that moment a body of officers with bills and halberts, who had been ordered to attend the execution, issued from the postern; and perceiving that they were behind their time, rushed precipitately towards the scaffold. The crowd gave way: the spectators at a distance ignorant of the cause, yielded to the sudden impulse of terror; and, in their eagerness to escape from imaginary danger, some were trampled

the first of these amusements occurred on the 3d of January, a month after the condemnation. Such things always took place during the Christmas holidays. See Edward's Journal, 43.

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under foot; others, to the number of one hundred, were driven into the Tower ditch; and many dispersing themselves through the city, ascribed their fright to an earthquake, to a sudden peal of thunder, or to some miraculous and indescribable indication of the divine displeasure. Order had scarcely been restored, when sir Anthony Brown, a member of the council, was seen approaching on horseback. Some one imprudently shouted, "A pardon, a pardon:" and the word was quickly echoed from mouth to mouth, till it reached the scaffold: but the duke, after a moment's suspense, learned that he had been deceived by the fond wishes of the spectators. The disappointment called up a hectic colour in his cheeks: but he resumed his address with composure and firmness of voice, repeating that he was a loyal man, exhorting his auditors to love the king, and obey his counsellors, and desiring their prayers, that he might die, as he lived, in the faith of Christ. Then covering his face with his handkerchief, he laid his head on the block. At one stroke it was severed from the body.[136]

Fate of his adherents.

Of the many individuals accused as the accomplices of this unfortunate nobleman, four

[136] Edward's Journal, 45. Fox, 98. The fanaticism of this writer compares the tumult at the execution to what "happened unto "Christ, when as the officers of the high priests and pharisees coming "with weapons to take him, being astonied, ran backwards, and fell "to the ground" Ibid. The true cause is noticed by Stow, who was also present, p. 607.

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only, Partridge and Vane, Stanhope and Arundel, were selected for capital punishment. All were convicted on the same evidence as the duke: all at the place of execution maintained their innocence; and Vane in strong language assured the spectators, that as often as Northumberland should lay his head on his pillow, he would find it wet with their blood. The two first died by the hand of the hangman, the others by the axe of the executioner. Though Paget had been the confidential adviser of Somerset, though it was said that at his house the intended assassination should have taken place, he was never brought to trial. But he made his submission, confessed that he had been guilty of peculation in the offices which he held under the crown, surrendered the chancellorship of the dutchy of Lancaster, was degraded from the order of the garter, and paid a considerable fine.

1552. Dec. 3.

The earl of Arundel, after an imprisonment of twelve months, recovered his liberty; but not till he had acknowledged himself guilty of concealing the treason of the conspirators, had resigned the office of warden of several royal parks, and had bound himself to pay annually to the king the sum of one thousand pounds during the term of six years. The lord Gray and the other prisoners were successively discharged.[137]

[137] Council Book, f. 259. Stow, 607, 608. Strype, ii. 310. Edward's Journal, 56. It is remarkable that all of them were by

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Acts of parliament. 1552. Jan. 23.

The parliament met the day after the execution of Somerset. As it had been originally summoned by his order and under his influence, the lower house numbered among its members several, who cherished a warm, though secret attachment to his memory. Their opposition to the court animated their debates with a spirit of freedom hitherto unknown; and by delays and amendments they retarded or defeated the favourite measures of the minister, till his impatience silenced their hostility by a hasty dissolution. Of the acts which received the royal assent, a few deserve the reader's attention. 1. Now, for the first time, was made a legal provision for the poor. For that purpose the churchwardens received authority to collect charitable contributions, and the bishop of the diocese was empowered to proceed against the defaulters.[138] 2. It was about three years since the composition of the book of common prayer had been attributed by the unanimous assent of the legislature to "the aid of the Holy Ghost." But this solemn declaration had not convinced the scepticism of the foreign teachers. They examined the book with a jealous eye; they detected passages, which in their estimation savoured of superstition, or led to idolatry; their complaints were echoed and re-echoed by their

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degrees taken into favour, and obtained the remission of a part or of the whole of their fines.

[138] St. 5 Ed. VI. 2.

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English disciples; and Edward, at the suggestion of his favourite instructors, affirmed that, if the prelates did not undertake the task, the new service should be freed from these blemishes without their assistance. Cranmer submitted the book in a Latin translation to the consideration of Bucer and Peter Martyr, whose judgment or prejudice recommended several omissions, and explanations, and improvements;[139] a committee of bishops and divines acquiesced in most of the animadversions of these foreign teachers; and the book in its amended form received the assent of the convocation. But here a new difficulty arose. It was the province of the clergy to decide on matters of doctrine and worship; how then could they submit a work approved by themselves to the revision of the lay branches of the legislature? To elude the inconvenience, it was proposed to connect the amended service and the ordinal to a bill, which was then in its progress through parliament, to compel by additional penalties attendance at the national worship. The clergy hoped that both forms would thus steal through the two houses without exciting any notice: but their object was detected and defeated: the books were read through, before the act was permitted to pass; and both without alteration were allowed and confirmed. By the new statute, to which

[139] Strype's Cranmer, 209. 252. App. 154. Burnet, ii, 155.

they had been appended, the bishops were ordered to coerce with spiritual censures all persons who should absent themselves from the amended form of service, the magistrates with corporal punishment all those, who should employ any other service in its place. To hear, or be present at, any manner of divine worship, or administration of the sacraments, or ordination of ministers, differing from those set forth by authority, subjected the offender on the first conviction to imprisonment during the space of six months, on the second during the space of one year, and on the third during the term of his natural life.[140]

Improvement in trials for treason.

3°. An attempt was made by the crown to revive some of the most objectionable acts of the late reign. The lords without hesitation passed a bill making it treason to call the king or any of his heirs a heretic, schismatic, tyrant, or usurper: but the rigour of the measure was mitigated by the spirit of the commons, who drew a broad distinction between the different manners of committing the offence. To brand the king with such disgraceful appellations "by writing, print-

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[140] St. 5 Ed. VI. 5. The dissentients to this intolerant act were the earl of Derby, the bishops of Carlisle and Norwich, and the lords Stourton and Windsor. Journ. 421. After the passing of the act the bishops laid aside the episcopal dress, the prebendaries their hoods, because the rubric required nothing more than the surplice. Collier, ii. 325.

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" ing, painting, carving, or graving," as it demanded both time and deliberation, might be assumed as a proof of malice, and call for the very extremity of punishment: but to do it in words only, would often proceed from indiscretion or the sudden impulse of passion, and therefore could not in justice deserve so severe a retribution. On this account they visited the first and second offence with forfeiture and imprisonment only, and reserved for the third the more grievous punishment of treason. The amendment, however, was of small importance compared with the provision with which it was accompanied. The constant complaint of accused persons, that they could not establish their innocence, because they were never confronted with their accusers, had attracted the public notice. The more the question was discussed, the more the iniquity of the usual method of proceeding was condemned: and it was now enacted, that no person should be arraigned, indicted, convicted, or attainted of any manner of treason, unless on the oath of two lawful accusers, who should be brought before him at the time of his arraignment, and there should openly avow and maintain their charges against him. Thus was laid the foundation of a most important improvement in the administration of criminal justice: and a maxim was introduced, which has proved the best shield of innocence

against the jealousy, the arts, and the vengeance of superior power.[141]

Prosecution of the bishop of Durham.

4°. The utility of the last enactment was proved even before the expiration of the session. Tunstal, bishop of Durham, had been accused before the council of being privy to a design of exciting an insurrection in the north: but the informer, on account of the absence of a material document which ought to have been in his possession, failed to establish the charge. When, however, the duke of Somerset's house was searched, the paper was found in a casket, and was acknowledged by Tunstal to have been written by himself. Northumberland immediately committed the prelate to the Tower, and introduced into the house of lords a bill "to de- "prive him of his bishopric for divers heinous "offences:" but in the commons it was argued, that in a case of deprivation the accused was entitled to the same indulgence as in a case of treason; and a petition was presented to the king that the bishop and his accuser might be confronted with each other before the house. Edward returned no answer: the commons neglected to proceed with a bill of attainder against the late duke of Somerset and his adherents, which had come down from the lords; and Northumberland, wearied with their opposition and delays,

1551. Dec. 20.

1552. April 4.

April 13.

[141] St. 5 Ed. VI. 11.

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prevailed on the king to dissolve the parliament.[124]

The English service introduced into Ireland.

The late statute ensured the adoption of the amended liturgy in every diocese of the kingdom; a French translation communicated it to the natives of Jersey and Guernsey. But were not the king's subjects in Ireland equally entitled to the benefit of a form of worship in their own tongue? Undoubtedly they were: but it had long been the object of the government to suppress the Irish language within the English pale: and to have chosen that language for the vehicle of religious instruction and religious worship, would have been to authorize and perpetuate its use. It was, I conceive, for this reason that the royal advisers submitted to entail on themselves that reproach, which they had been accustomed to cast on the church of Rome, and had enjoined by proclamation that the Irish should attend to the service in English, a language which few among them could understand. By Brown, the archbishop of Dublin, and four of his brethren, the order was cheerfully obeyed: Dowdal, archbishop of Armagh, and the other prelates, rejected it with scorn. The consequence was that the ancient service was generally retained:

[142] Lords' Journals, 418. 425. Archbishop Cranmer and lord Stourton dissented from the bill against the bishop of Durham, 418. Journals of Commons, 21. 23. Extract from Council Book, Archæol. xviii. 170.

the new was adopted in those places only, where an armed force compelled its introduction. The lords of the council, to punish the disobedience of Dowdal, took from him the title of primate of all Ireland, and transferred it to his more obsequious brother the archbishop of Dublin.[143]

Articles of religion.

At the same time Cranmer had the satisfaction to complete two works of the highest importance to the cause of reformation, 1°. a collection of the articles of religion, and 2°. a code of ecclesiastical constitutions. 1°. During the last reign he had subscribed with the other prelates every test of orthodoxy promulgated by Henry; but after the death of that monarch a new light appears to have burst upon his mind; in the homilies, the order of communion, and the English service, he continued to recede from the opinions which he had formerly approved: and it was at last become a problem of some difficulty to determine what was or was not to be considered as the faith of the English church. To remedy the evil, he obtained an order from the council to compose a body of religious doctrine, which, when it had received the royal approbation, should become the authorized standard of orthodoxy. It was an arduous and invidious undertaking. Why, it might be asked, now

[143] Leland, l. iii. c. 8. He left the country: and the king appointed him a successor: but the new archbishop died in a few weeks, and Dowdal recovered his see at the accession of Mary. Strype's Cranmer, 278.

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that the scriptures were open to all, should the opinion of any one man, or of any particular body of men, bind the understandings of others: or why should those who had emancipated themselves from the authority of the pontiff, be controlled in their belief by the authority of the king? On the other hand the archbishop was supported by the example of the reformed churches abroad, and impelled by the necessity of enforcing uniformity among the preachers at home, who by their dissensions and contradictions perplexed and disedified their hearers. Cranmer proceeded in his task with caution and deliberation: a rough copy was circulated among his friends, and submitted to the inspection of the council: the communications of others were gratefully accepted, and carefully weighed; and the work, when it had received the last corrections, was laid before a committee of bishops and divines. Their approbation ensured that of the king, by whose authority it was published in forty-two articles in Latin and English: and by whom, a short time before his death, it was ordered to be subscribed by all churchwardens, schoolmasters, and clergymen.[144] On this foun-

[144] Strype's Cranmer, 272. 293. Burnet, ii. 166. iii. 210—213. Wilk. Conc. iv. 79. In the universities an oath was exacted from every person who took any degree, that he would look on the articles as true and certain, and would defend them in all places as agreeable to the word of God. It will, however, require some ingenuity to reconcile with each other the following passages in that oath: Deo

dation rests its authority. It was never ratified by parliament: nor does it appear to have been sanctioned by the convocation.

Code of ecclesiastical laws.

2°. to complete the reformation but one thing more was now wanting, a code of ecclesiastical laws in abrogation of the canons, which the realm had formerly received from the church of Rome. The idea of such a compilation had been entertained under Henry: it was reduced to practice under Edward. An act had been already passed empowering the king to give the force of law to those ecclesiastical regulations, which should be made by two-and-thirty commissioners appointed by his letters patent, and taken in equal proportions from the spiritualty and temporalty of the realm. But experience shewed that the number of the commissioners was calculated to breed diversity rather than uniformity of opinion: and the task was delegated in the first instance to a sub-committee of eight persons, with the archbishop at their head. The result of their labours is in a great measure attributed to his industry and research: but it was put into a new form, and couched in more elegant language by the pens of Cheek and Haddon. Under the title of Reformatio legum ec-

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teste promitto ac spondeo, me scripturæ auctoritatem hominum judiciis præpositurum....et articulos....regia auctoritate in lucem editos pro veris et certis habiturum, et omni in loco, tanquam consentientes cum verbo dei defensurum. MSS. Col. Cor. Chr. Cant. Miscel. P. fol. 492.

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clesiasticarum, it treats in fifty-one articles of all those subjects, the cognizance of which appertained to the spiritual courts: and though its publication was prevented by the premature death of the king, it must be considered as a most interesting document, inasmuch as it discloses to us the sentiments of the leading reformers on several questions of the first importance.

It commences with an exposition of the catholic faith, and enacts the punishment of forfeiture and death against those, who deny the christian religion. It then regulates the proceedings in cases of heresy, the ceremony of abjuration, and the delivery of the obstinate heretic to the civil magistrate, that he may suffer death according to law. Blasphemy subjects the offender to the same penalty. The marriages of minors, without the consent of their parents or guardians, and of all persons whomsoever, without the previous publication of bans, or the entire performance of the ceremony in the church according to the book of common prayer, are pronounced of no effect. The seducer of a single woman is compelled to marry her, or to endow her with one third of his fortune; or, if he have no fortune, to charge himself with the maintenance of their illegitimate offspring, and to suffer some additional and arbitrary punishment. Adultery is visited with imprisonment or transportation for life. In

addition, if the offender be the wife, she forfeits her jointure, and all the advantages she might have derived from her marriage: if the husband, he returns to the wife her dower, and adds to it one half of his own fortune. But to a clergyman, in whom the enormity of the offence increases in proportion to the sanctity of his office, the penalty is more severe. He loses his benefice and surrenders the whole of his estate, if he be married, to the unoffending party, for the support of her and her children; if unmarried, to the bishop, that it may be devoted to purposes of charity.

Divorces are allowed not only for adultery, but for cruelty, long absence, and incompatibility of temper: and in all such cases the parties are permitted to marry again; but where one deserts the other, this indulgence is confined to the innocent person; the guilty is condemned to perpetual imprisonment. In cases of defamation, when from the destruction of papers or the absence of witnesses, the truth cannot be discovered, the accused is permitted to clear his character by his oath, provided he can produce a competent number of compurgators, who shall swear that they give full credit to his assertion. Commutation of penance for money is conceded on particular occasions: the right of devising property by will is refused to married women, slaves, children under fourteen years of age, heretics, libellers, females of loose

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character, usurers, and convicts sentenced to death, or perpetual banishment or imprisonment: and excommunication is asserted to cut off the offender from the society of the faithful, the protection of God, and the expectation of future happiness; and to consign him to everlasting punishment, and the tyranny of the devil.[145]

Edward's last parliament. 1553. March 1.

Edward had inherited from his mother a weak and delicate constitution. In the spring of the year he was considerably reduced by successive attacks of the measles and the small-pox: in the latter part of the summer a troublesome cough, the effect of imprudent exposure to the cold, terminated in an inflammation on the lungs: and when the new parliament assembled, the king's weakness compelled him to meet the two houses at his residence of Whitehall. In the morning, after he had heard a sermon from the bishop of London, and received the sacrament in company with several of the lords, he proceeded in state to a neighbouring chamber, in which the session was opened with a speech from the chancellor, Goodrick, bishop of Ely. Northumberland had no reason to fear opposition from the present parliament. To secure a majority in the lower house, orders had been sent to the sheriffs to return grave and

[145] See the Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum, published anno 1571.

able men, and to attend to the recommendations, of the privy counsellors in their neighbourhood; and sixteen individuals, all of them employed at court, and high in the confidence of the minister, had been nominated by the king himself, in letters addressed to the sheriffs of Hampshire, Suffolk, Berks, Bedford, Surrey, Cambridge, Oxford, and Northamptonshire.[146] The great object of Northumberland was to obtain money for the payment of the royal debts, which amounted to a considerable sum, and could not be liquidated by the annual sales of the chantry lands, and of the monastic possessions still held by the crown.[147] A subsidy with two tenths and fifteenths, was granted; but the preamble, which attributed the king's necessities to improvident and extravagant expenditure under the duke of Somerset, is said to have given rise in the lower house to a long and animated debate. Another object, perhaps of equal importance in the opinion of the minister, was the dissolution of the bishopric of Durham. Defeated in his attempt to procure the deprivation of Tunstal in the last parliament by a bill of

[146] Strype, ii. 394.

[147] See the great amount of these sales in Strype, ii. 362. 373, 427. App. 85—94. As an additional resource, commissions were issued to seize for the treasury all the plate, jewels, and ornaments belonging to the churches, leaving only as many chalices in each as might be necessary for the administration of the sacrament, and such ornaments as the commissioners in their discretion should think requisite. Fuller, l. vii. 417.

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pains and penalties, he had erected a new court of lawyers and civilians, with power to call the prelate before them, to inquire into all conspiracies, concealments, contempts and offences with which he might be charged, and to pronounce judgment of deprivation, if his guilt should deserve such punishment. By this new, and as it was afterwards held, illegal tribunal, he had been stripped of all his ecclesiastical preferments: and as the see of Durham was now held to be void, an act was passed for the suppression of that diocese, and the establishment of two others by the king's letters patent, of which one should comprehend the county of Northumberland, the other that of Durham. To justify this measure was alleged the enormous extent of the former diocese: a hypocritical pretext employed to turn the attention of the members from the real object of the ministers. Within a month after the dissolution the bishopric was converted into a county palatine, annexed for the present to the crown, but destined to reward at a convenient opportunity the services of the house of Dudley.[148]

Northumberland's riches and ambition.

Northumberland was not only the most powerful, his rapacity had made him the most wealthy, individual in the realm. Though his former possessions were sufficiently ample to satisfy the ordinary avarice of a subject, he had, during this

[148] Strype, ii. 507.

and the two last years, increased them by the addition of the stewardships of the east riding of Yorkshire, and of all the royal manors in the five northern counties, and by grants from the crown of Tinmouth and Alnwick, in Northumberland, of Bernard castle in the bishopric of Durham, and of extensive estates in the three shires of Somerset, Warwick, and Worcester.[149] He was, however, aware that he held this pre-eminence of wealth and power, by a very precarious tenure. The life of the king was uncertain, in all probability was hastening to its close: from the lady Mary, the presumptive heir, he had little reason to expect friendship, or protection; and he foresaw that, if he were left to the mercy of his enemies, he must resign his offices, regorge his wealth, and perhaps atone for his ambition on the scaffold. It became his policy to provide against future danger, by increasing the number and multiplying the resources of his adherents. His brother and sons were placed in confidential situations near the throne; every office at court was successively intrusted to one or other among his creatures, whose predecessors received yearly pensions as the reward of their resignation, and the price of their future services: and, to connect with his own the interests of other powerful families, he projected a marriage between his fourth son, Guilford Dud-

[149] See the titles of these grants in Strype, ii. 499. 504. 507, 508.

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ley, and the lady Jane Gray, the grand-daughter of Mary, sister to Henry VIII.; a second between his own daughter Catherine, and the lord Hastings, the eldest son of the earl of Huntingdon; and a third between the lady Catherine Gray and lord Herbert, the son of the earl of Pembroke, who owed both his title and property to the favour of Northumberland.[150]

Hitherto Edward, who had inherited a portion of his father's obstinacy, had paid little attention to the advice of his physicians. In the begin-

May 5.

ning of May an unexpected improvement was observed in his health; he promised to submit for the future to medical advice; and the most flattering hopes were entertained of his recovery.[151]—Northumberland chose this period to celebrate the marriages by which he sought to consolidate his power. Durham house, in the Strand, his new residence, was a scene of continued festivity and amusement: the king, unable to attend in person, manifested his approval by magnificent presents; and at the same time, as if it were wished to conciliate the approbation of the lady Mary, a grant was made to her of the

[150] Stow, 609. There remained a third daughter, the lady Mary Gray, who in 1565 was furtively married to Martin Keys, the gentleman porter. He was the largest man, she the most diminutive woman, at court. Elizabeth threw them both into prison. Strype, annals of the reformation, i. 477.

[151] See Northumberland's letter to Cecil, dated May 7. Strype, ii. App. 161. and the lady Mary's to the king, dated May 16. Strype, ii. 424.

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castle of Hertford, and of several manors and parks in the counties of Hertford and Essex.[152]

His attempt to alter the succession. June.

After a short and delusive interval, Edward relapsed into his former weakness. The symptoms of his disorder grew daily more alarming; and it became evident that his life could not be protracted beyond the term of a few weeks. His danger urged Northumberland to execute a project, which he had in all probability meditated for some time, of perpetuating his own influence, by placing the crown, in the event of the king's death, on the head of his own son. By act of parliament, and the will of the last monarch, the next heirs were the ladies Mary and Elizabeth: but, as the statutes pronouncing them illegitimate had never been repealed, it was presumed that such illegitimacy might be successfully opposed in bar of their claim. After their exclusion, the crown would of right descend to one of the representatives of the two sisters of Henry VIII.; Margaret, queen of Scotland, and Mary, queen of France. Margaret was the elder: but her descendants had been overlooked in the will of the late king, and the animosity of the nation against Scotland would readily induce it to acquiesce in the exclusion of the Scottish line. There remained then the representative of Mary, the French queen, who was Frances, married to Gray, formerly marquess of Dorset,

[152] Strype, ii. 520, 521.

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and lately created, in favour of his wife, duke of Suffolk. But Frances had no ambition to ascend a disputed throne: and easily consented to transfer her right to her eldest daughter Jane, the wife of Northumberland's fourth son, Guilford Dudley.[153] Having arranged his plan, the duke ventured to whisper it in the ear of the sick prince; and recommended it to his approbation by a most powerful appeal to his religious prejudices. Edward, he said, by the extirpation of idolatry, and the establishment of a pure system of faith and worship, had secured to himself an immortal reputation in this, everlasting happiness in the next world. The lovers of the gospel had promised to themselves the long enjoyment of so invaluable a blessing: but now the dangerous state of his health opened to them a dark and menacing prospect. He was acquainted with the bigotry of his sister Mary, which had hitherto set at defiance both his persuasion and his authority. Were she to ascend the throne, she would seize the first opportunity to undo all that he had done; to extinguish the new light,

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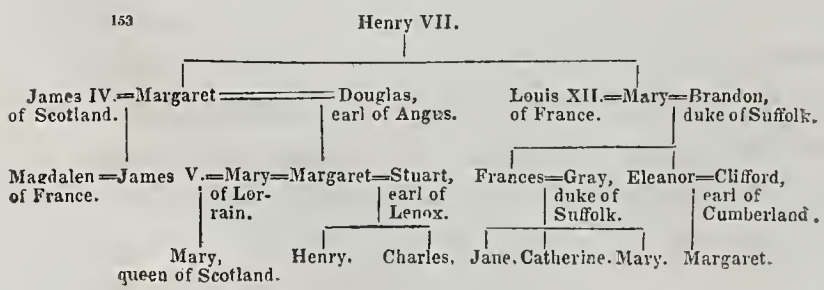

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and to replunge the nation into the darkness of error and superstition. Did he not shudder as the very thought? Could he answer to himself: would he be able to answer it before God, if by his connivance he should permit, while he had it in his power to avert, so direful an evil? Let him make a will like his father, let him pass by the lady Mary on account of illegitimacy, and the lady Elizabeth, who laboured under the same defect, and then entail the crown on the posterity of his aunt, the French queen, whose present descendants were distinguished by their piety and their attachment to the reformed worship.[154]

Edward consents.

To these interested suggestions the sick prince listened with feelings of approbation. Perhaps he persuaded himself that he might justly assume on his death-bed those powers which had been exercised by his father Henry: perhaps he deemed it a duty to sacrifice the rights of his sisters to the paramount interests of his religion. He was, however, careful not to expose his advisers to the resentment of those, whom he was about to exclude from the succession. He took the whole responsibility on himself; sketched with his own pen a rough draft of the new entail of the crown; and when it had been fairly transcribed, signed the copy with his name above and below, and on each margin.[155]

[154] Godwin, 103.

[155] It is in Strype's Cran. App. 164. The directions for the other

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Reluctance of the judges. June 11.

As soon as these preparations were completed, sir Edward Montague, chief justice of the common pleas, sir Thomas Bromley, another justice of the same court, and sir Richard Baker, chancellor of the augmentations, with Gosnold and Gryffyn, the attorney and solicitor-general, received a summons to attend the council at

June 12. Greenwich. On their arrival they were introduced to the king, who said, that he had seriously weighed the dangers which threatened the laws, and liberties, and religion of the country, if the lady Mary should inherit the crown, and marry a foreign prince; that, to prevent so great an evil, he had determined to change the order of the succession; and that he had sent for them to draw up a legal instrument, according to the instructions which he had authorized with his signature. They attempted to speak: but he refused to hear any objection, and with difficulty consented to a short respite, that they might peruse the different acts of succession, and deliberate on the most eligible means of accomplishing the royal pleasure.

June 14. Two days later Montague and his companions waited on the lords of the council, and informed them that such an instrument as had been required, would subject both those who had drawn

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part of the will were written by secretary Petre, and dictated by Edward. He left Mary and Elizabeth annuities of 1000*l.*, and, if they should marry by advice of the council, added 10,000*l.* to the portions left them by his father. Strype, ii. 431.

and those who had advised it, to the penalties of treason. At these words Northumberland entered from another room, trembling with rage; he threatened and called them traitors: and he declared that he was ready to fight in his shirt with any man in so just a quarrel. They were commanded to retire, and the same evening received an order to attend again the next day, with the exception of the solicitor-general.

On their admission to the royal presence, Edward sternly asked, why his command had not been obeyed. The chief justice replied that to obey would have been dangerous to them, and of no service to his grace; that the succession had been settled by statute, and could be altered only by statute; and that he knew of no other legal expedient but the introduction of a bill for that purpose into the next parliament. The king replied that it was his determination to have the deed of settlement executed now, and ratified afterwards in the parliament summoned to meet in September: and therefore he commanded them on their allegiance to submit to his pleasure. Montague began to waver; his conversion was hastened by the threats and reproaches of the lords of the council, who attended in a body: and, after a short hesitation, turning to the king, he professed his readiness to obey, but requested that he might have under

June 15.

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the great seal, first a commission to draw the instrument, and then a full pardon for having drawn it. To this Edward assented: Bromley and Baker followed the example of the chief justice: but the repugnance of Gosnold was not subdued till the following day.[156]

Conduct of the archbishop.

Among the privy counsellors there were some who, though apprized of the illegality, and apprehensive of the consequences of the measure, suffered themselves to be seduced from their duty by the threats and promises of Northumberland, and their objection to the succession of a princess, who would probably re-establish the ancient faith, and compel them to restore the property, which they had torn from the church. The archbishop, if we may believe his own statement, had requested a private interview with the king, but he was accompanied by the marquess of Northampton and the lord Darcy, in whose presence Edward solicited him to subscribe the new settlement, expressed a hope that he would not refuse his sovereign a favour which had been granted by every other counsellor, and assured him that, according to the decision of the judges, a king in actual possession, had a power to limit the descent of the crown after his decease. Cranmer confesses that he had the weakness to yield against his own conviction,

[156] See Montague's statement in Fuller, l. viii. 2—5.

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and that having once yielded, he resolved to support the cause with all the influence of his station. [157]

The counsellors sign it.

Northumberland, whether it was that he suspected the fidelity of some among his colleagues, or that he was unwilling to trust the success of his project to the dilatory forms of office, had prepared another paper, to which at the royal command four-and-twenty of the counsellors and legal advisers of the crown affixed their signatures. By it they pledged their oaths and honour to "observe every article contained in "his majesty's own devise respecting the succes-"sion, subscribed with his majesty's hand in six "several places, and delivered to certain judges "and other learned men that it might be written "in full order:" to maintain and defend it to the uttermost of their power during their lives; and, if any man should hereafter attempt to alter it, to repute him an enemy to the welfare of the kingdom, and to punish him according to his deserts.[158] As soon as the official instrument

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[157] See his letter to queen Mary, in Strype's Cranmer, App, 169.

[158] The subscribers were Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury; Thomas, bishop of Ely, chancellor; Winchester, lord treasurer; Northumberland, great master; Bedford, lord privy seal; John, duke of Suffolk; Northampton, lord high chamberlain; Shrewsbury, lord president in the north; the earl of Huntingdon; the earl of Pembroke; Clinton, lord admiral; Darcy, chamberlain of the household; lord Cobham; Cheyne, treasurer of the household; lord Rich; Gate, vice-chamberlain; Petre, Cheek, and Cecil, principal secretaries; Montague, Baker, Gryffyn, Lucas, and Gosnold. See

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had been prepared, it was engrossed in parchment, carried to the chancery, and authenticated with the great seal. It then received the signatures of the lords of the council, and of most of the judges, and of the law officers of the crown.[159]

June 21.

June 22.

Northumberland's next object was to secure the person of the lady Mary. His sons had received licences to raise companies of horse: several petty fortifications, on the sea coast and the banks of the Thames, had been dismantled, to provide, without exciting suspicion, a supply of powder and ammunition for the Tower: forty

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the instrument in Strype's Cranmer, App. p. 163. Burnet, iii. Rec. 207.

[159] We have three accounts of the transaction, one by sir Edward Montague, another by Cranmer, and a third by Cecil. It may perhaps detract something from their credit, that they are interested statements, drawn up by the writers for the purpose of extenuating their own guilt in the estimation of queen Mary. Neither is it easy to reconcile them with each other, or with known facts. Thus Cranmer says that both the king and his council assured him that the judges had declared in favour of the legality of the measure (Strype's Cran. App. 169): Montague, on the contrary, tells us that he repeatedly, in his own name and that of his colleagues, pronounced it illegal in presence of the whole council, and consequently of the archbishop (Fuller, l. viii. p. 3). Cecil says that he refused to subscribe, when none of the others refused: and that if he subscribed at last, it was not as an abettor of the measure, but merely as a witness to the king's signature. (Strype, ii. 480.) Yet in the instrument mentioned in the last note, his name occurs in its proper place, not as a witness, but as one who takes his oath, and promises on his honour to maintain it: and Cranmer in his statement takes credit to himself for being the last who was persuaded to subscribe.

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additional warders were introduced into that fortress; the constable, sir John Gage, was superseded in the command by sir James Croft, a creature of the duke; and Croft, when all was ready, surrendered his charge to the lord Clinton, lord high admiral. At the same time a letter was written by the council to the lady Mary, requiring her by the king's order to repair immediately to court. Had she reached London, her next removal would have been to a cell in the Tower: but she received a friendly hint of her danger on the road; and hastened back to her residence in Kenninghall in the county of Norfolk.[160]

June 30.

The king dies.

We are told that at this period the care of the king was intrusted to a female empiric, whose charms or medicines, instead of alleviating, aggravated his sufferings; and that his physicians, when they were recalled, pronounced him to be at the point of death.[161] The report originated probably with those, who afterwards accused Northumberland of having taken the life of his sovereign. However that may be, on the first of July the duke pretended to entertain hopes of his recovery: on the sixth of the same month the king expired in the evening. The event had long been expected by the nation, and the vengeance of the council had already visited with stripes and imprisonment several offenders, both

July 6.

[160] Strype, ii. 521. Hayward, 327. [161] Hayward, ib. Haylin, 139.

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male and female, who had prematurely announced the intelligence.[162]

His abilities.

It would be idle to delineate the character of a prince, who lived not till his passions could develope themselves, or his faculties acquire maturity. His education, like that of his two sisters, began at a very early age. In abilities he was equal, perhaps superior to most boys of his years: and his industry and improvement amply repaid the solicitude of his tutors. But the extravagant praises, which had been lavished on him by his panegyrists and admirers, may be received with some degree of caution. In the French and Latin letters, to which they appeal, it is difficult to separate the composition of the pupil from the corrections of the master:[163] and since, to raise his reputation, deceptions are known to have been employed on some occasions, it may be justifiable to suspect that they were practised on others. The boy of twelve or fourteen years was accustomed to pronounce his opinion in the council with all the gravity of a hoary statesman. But he had been previously informed of the subjects to be discussed: his

[162] See several instances from the council book in Strype, ii. 428. On the first of July they wrote to the foreign ambassadors, "that his "majesty was alive, whatsoever evil men did write or spread abroad: "and, as they trusted and wished, his estate and towardness of re- "covery out of his sickness should shortly appear to the comfort of "all good men." Strype, ii. 429.

[163] These letters may be seen in Fuller, l. vii. p. 423. Hearne's Titus Livius, 115, and Strype, ii. App. 162.

preceptors had supplied him with short notes, which he committed to memory: and while he delivered their sentiments as his own, the lords, whether they were aware or not of the artifice, admired and applauded the precocious wisdom with which heaven had gifted their sovereign.[164]

His religious opinions.

Edward's religious belief could not have been the result of his own judgment. He was compelled to take it on trust from those about him, who moulded his infant mind to their own pleasure, and infused into it their own opinions or prejudices. From them he derived a strong sense of piety, and a habit of daily devotion, a warm attachment to the new, and a violent antipathy to the ancient doctrines. He believed it to be the first of his duties to extirpate what he had been taught to deem, the idolatrous worship of his fathers; and with his last breath he wafted a prayer to heaven for the preservation of his subjects from the infection of "papistry."[165] Yet it may be a question whether his early death has not proved a benefit to the church of England, as it is at present established. His sentiments, like those of his instructors, were tinged with Calvinism: attempts were made to persuade him that episcopacy was an expensive and unnecessary institution: and the courtiers, whose appetite for church property had been whetted rather than satisfied by former spolia-

[164] See Strype, ii. 104.

[165] Fox, ii. 130.

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tions, looked impatiently towards the entire suppression of the bishoprics and chapters.[166] Of the possessions belonging to these establishments, one half had already been seized by the royal favourites : in the course of a few years their rapacity would have devoured the remainder.[167]

State of the nation during his reign.

The governors and counsellors of the young king were so occupied with plans of personal aggrandizement, and the introduction of religious reform, that they could pay but little attention to the great objects of national polity. Under their care or negligence England was compelled to descend from the pre-eminence which she previously held among the nations of Europe ; and her degradation was consummated

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[166] On this subject the reader will be amused with the disinterested advice of Hoby. In a letter of the 19th of January, 1549, he tells the protector, that the foreign protestants " have " good hopes, and pray earnestly therefore, that the king's majesty " will appoint unto the good bishops an honest and competent living, " sufficient for their maintenance, taking from them the rest of their " worldly possessions and dignities, and thereby avoid the vain glory " that letteth them truly and sincerely to do their duty." From the bishops he proceeds to the chapters. He had been told that 1500 horsemen had mustered at Brussels to meet the prince of Spain : " which," he adds, " when I heard, remembering what great ser- " vice such a number of chosen men were able to do, especially " in our country, wherein is so much lack of good horsemen, it " caused me to declare, under your grace's correction, what I " thought : earnestly to wish with all my heart that, standing with " the king's majesty's pleasure and your prudence, all the prebends " within England were converted to the like use for the defence " of our country, and the maintenance of honest poor gentlemen." Apud Strype, ii. 88.

[167] See note (A).

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at the conferences for the restoration of Boulogne, by the supercilious conduct of the French, and the tame acquiescence of the English ministers. For the advantage of commerce, the exclusive privileges enjoyed by the corporation of the stilyard, were abolished: and a little before the king's death an expedition was fitted out to discover a north-east passage to the coast of India. The attempt failed: Willoughby, one of the leaders, perished with his crew from the cold of the winter; but Chancellor, the survivor, discovered the port of Archangel, and laid the foundation of a lucrative trade with the northern provinces of Russia.[168]

Within the realm poverty and discontent generally prevailed. The extension of enclosures, and the new practice of letting lands at rack rents, had driven from their homes numerous families, whose fathers had occupied the same farms for several generations: and the increasing multitudes of the poor began to resort to the more populous towns in search of that relief, which had been formerly distributed at the gates of the monasteries.[169] Nor were the national morals improved, if we may judge from the portraits drawn by the most eminent of the

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[168] Godwin, 104.

[169] Thus Lever exclaims: "O merciful Lord! what a number of poor, feeble, halt, blind, lame, sickly, yea, with idle vagabonds and dissembling caitiffs mixed among them, lie and creep, begging in the miry streets of London and Westminster." Strype, ii. 449.

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reformed preachers. They assert that the sufferings of the indigent were viewed with indifference by the hard-heartedness of the rich: that, in the pursuit of gain the most barefaced frauds were avowed and justified; that robbers and murderers escaped punishment by the partiality of juries, and the corruption of judges; that church livings were given to laymen, or converted to the use of the patrons; that marriages were repeatedly dissolved by private authority; and that the haunts of prostitution were multiplied beyond measure.[170] How far credit should be given to such representations, may perhaps be doubtful. Declamations from the pulpit are not the best historical evidence. Much in them must be attributed to the exaggeration of zeal: much to the affectation of eloquence. Still, when these deductions have been made, when the invectives of Knox and Lever, of Gilpin and Latimer, have been reduced to the standard of reason and experience, enough will remain to justify the conclusion, that the change of religious polity, by removing many of the former restraints upon vice, and enervating the authority of the spiritual courts, had given a bolder front to licentiousness, and opened a wider scope to the indulgence of criminal passion.

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[170] The industry of Strype has collected several passages on these subjects from the old preachers, 369. 438—450.

CHAP. II.

MARY.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors of Ger.	*Queen of Scotland.*	*King of France.*	*Kings of Spain.*	*Popes.*
Charles V. 1558.	Mary.	Henry II.	Charles V. 1555.	Julius III. ..1555.
Ferdinand.			Philip II.	Marcellus II. 1555.
				Paul IV.

LADY JANE GRAY PROCLAIMED QUEEN—THE LADY MARY IS ACKNOWLEDGED—HER QUESTIONS TO THE EMPEROR CHARLES—EXECUTION OF NORTHUMBERLAND—MISCONDUCT OF COURTENEY—QUEEN SEEKS TO RESTORE THE ANCIENT SERVICE—ELIZABETH CONFORMS—CRANMER OPPOSES—PARLIAMENT—INTRIGUES OF NOAILLES—INSURRECTION OF WYAT—FAILURE AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CONSPIRATORS—ELIZABETH AND COURTENEY IN DISGRACE—TREATY OF MARRIAGE BETWEEN MARY AND PHILIP—RECONCILIATION WITH ROME.

CHAP. II.

Intrigues of foreign courts.

THE declining health of Edward had attracted the notice of the neighbouring courts: to the two rival sovereigns, Charles V. of Germany, and Henry II. of France, it offered a new subject of political intrigue. The presumptive heir to the sick king was his sister Mary, a princess, who ever since the death of her father, had been guided by the advice, and

CHAP. II.

under persecution had been protected by the remonstrances, of the emperor. Gratitude, as well as consanguinity, must attach her to the interests of her benefactor and relative: probably she would, in the event of her succession, throw the power of England into the scale against the pretensions of France: it was even possible that partiality to the father might induce her to accept of the son for her husband. On these accounts, both princes looked foward with considerable solicitude to the approaching death of Edward, and the result of the plot contrived by the ambition of Northumberland.

1553. June 23.

Charles dispatched from Brussels, Montmorenci, Marnix, and Renard, as ambassadors extraordinary to the English court. They came under the pretence of visiting the infirm monarch: but their real object was to watch the proceedings of the council, to study the resources of the different parties, to make friends for the lady Mary, and, as far as prudence would allow, to promote her succession to the throne.[1]

The same reasons which induced the emperor to favour, urged the king of France to oppose, the interest of Mary. Aware of the design of his rival, Henry dispatched to London the bishop of Orleans, and the chevalier de Gyé with instructions to counteract the attempts of the imperial envoys: but the slow progress of

[1] Their instructions are in the collection of the papers of the ambassador Renard, in the library of Besançon, tom. iii. fol. 1.

these ministers was anticipated by the industry and address of Noailles, the resident ambassador, who though he would not commit his sovereign, by too explicit an avowal of his sentiments, readily offered to the council the aid of France, if foreigners should attempt to disturb the tranquillity of the realm. The hint was sufficient. Northumberland saw that he had nothing to fear, and every thing to hope, from the policy of the French monarch.[2]

Proceeding of the council. July 6.

It was on the evening of the sixth of July that Edward expired at Greenwich. To conceal the knowledge of his death, the guards had been doubled in the palace, and all communication had been intercepted between his chamber and the other apartments. Yet that very night, while the lords sat in deliberation, the secret was communicated to Mary by a note from the earl of Arundel unfolding the design of the conspirators. She was then at Hoddesdon, in the neighbourhood of London, and, had she hesitated, would by the next morning have been a prisoner in the Tower. Without losing a moment she mounted her horse, and rode with the servants of her household to Kenninghall, in Norfolk.[3]

The council broke up after midnight; and Clinton, the lord admiral, took possession of the Tower, with the royal treasures, the munitions

[2] Ambassad. de Mess. de Noailles, ii. 45. 50. 53. [3] Ibid. 56.

CHAP. II.

of war, and the prisoners of state. The three next days were employed in making such previous arrangements as were thought necessary for the success of the enterprise. While the death of Edward was yet unknown, the officers of the guards and of the household, the lord mayor, six aldermen, and twelve of the principal citizens, were summoned before the council. All these were informed of the recent settlement of the crown, and required to take an oath of allegiance to the new sovereign: the latter were dismissed with an injunction not to betray the secret, and to watch over the tranquillity of the city. On the fourth morning it was determined to publish the important intelligence: and the chief of the lords, attended by a numerous escort, rode to Sion house, to announce to the lady Jane her succession to the throne of her royal cousin.

Lady Jane Gray.

Jane has been described to us as a young woman of gentle manners, and superior talents; addicted to the study of the scriptures and the classics, but fonder of dress than suited the austere notions of the reformed preachers. Of the designs of the duke of Northumberland in her favour, and of the arts by which he had deceived the simplicity of Edward, she knew nothing: nor had she suffered the dark and mysterious predictions of the dutchess to make any impression on her mind. Her love of privacy had induced her to solicit, what in the un-

certain state of the king's health was readily granted, permission to leave London, and to spend a few days at Chelsea: she was enjoying herself in this retirement, when she received by the lady Sidney, her husband's sister, an order from the council to return immediately to Sion house, and to await there the commands of the king. She obeyed; and the next morning was visited by the duke of Northumberland, the marquess of Northampton, and the earls of Arundel, Huntingdon, and Pembroke. At first, the conversation turned on indifferent subjects, but there was in their manner an air of respect, which awakened some uneasiness in her mind, and seemed to explain the hints already given to her by her mother-in-law. Soon afterwards that lady entered, accompanied by the dutchess of Suffolk and the marchioness of Northampton: and the duke, addressing the lady Jane, informed her that the king her cousin was dead; that before he expired, he had prayed to God to preserve the realm from the infection of papistry, and the misrule of his sisters Mary and Elizabeth: that, on account of their being bastards, and by act of parliament incapable of the succession, he had resolved to pass them by, and to leave the crown in the right line; and that he had therefore commanded the council to proclaim her, the lady Jane, his lawful heir, and in default of her and her issue, her two sisters Catherine and Mary. At these words the lords

July 9.

July 10.

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fell on their knees, declared that they took her for their sovereign, and swore that they were ready to shed their blood in support of her right. The reader may easily conceive the agitation of spirits which a communication so important and unlooked for, was likely to create in a young woman of timid habits and delicate health. She trembled, uttered a shriek, and sunk to the ground. On her recovery she observed to those around her that she seemed to herself a very unfit person to be a queen: but that if the right were hers, she trusted God would give her strength to wield the sceptre to his honour and the benefit of the nation.

Such is the account of this transaction given by Jane herself, in a letter from the Tower to queen Mary.[4] The feelings which she describes, are such as we might expect; surprise at the annunciation, grief for the death of her royal cousin, and regret to quit a station in which she had been happy. But modern writers have attributed to her much of which she seems to have been ignorant. The beautiful language which they put into her mouth; her forcible reasoning in favour of the claim of Mary; her philosophic contempt of the splendour of royalty;

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[4] This letter appears to have been the confession required from her on her committal to the Tower. It has been preserved in an Italian translation made by Pollini, from a copy in English, in his Historia Ecclesiastica della Rivoluzion d'Inghilterra, published in 1594, p. 355—358.

her refusal to accept a crown which was not her right; and her reluctant submission to the commands of her parents, must be considered as the fictions of historians, who, in their zeal to exalt the character of their heroine, seem to have forgotten that she was only sixteen years of age.

Proclaimed Queen.

The following day the young queen was conducted by water to the Tower, the usual residence of our kings preparatory to their coronation; she made her entry in state. Her train was borne by her mother, the dutchess of Suffolk; the lord treasurer presented her with the crown: and her relations saluted her on their knees. On the same afternoon the heralds proclaimed the death of Edward and the succession of Jane: and a printed instrument was circulated, to acquaint the people with the grounds of her claim. It alleged, 1°. That though the succession, by the 35th of Henry VIII. stood limited to the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, yet neither of them could take any thing under that act, because by a previous statute of the 28th of the same reign, which still remained in force, both daughters had been pronounced bastards, and incapable of inheriting the crown: 2°. That even, had they been born in lawful wedlock, they could have no claim to the succession after Edward, because being his sisters only by the half-blood, they could not inherit from him according to the ancient laws and customs of the realm: 3°. That the fact of their being single women, ought to be

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a bar to their claim, as by their subsequent marriages they might place the sovereign power in the hands of a foreign despot, who would be able to subvert the liberties of the people, and to restore the jurisdiction of the bishop of Rome; 4°. That these considerations had moved the late king to limit, by his will and by deed, the inheritance of the crown to the daughters of the dutchess of Suffolk, as being nigh to him of blood, and "naturally born within the realm:" 5°. And that therefore the lady Jane, the eldest daughter, had taken upon herself, as belonging to her of right, the government of the kingdoms of England and Ireland, and of all their dependencies.[5] To the arguments contained in this laboured proclamation the people listened in ominous silence. They had so long considered Mary the presumptive heir, that they did not comprehend how her claim could be defeated by any pretensions of a daughter of the house of Suffolk. Not a single voice was heard in approbation; a vintner's boy had the temerity to express his dissent, and the next day paid the forfeit of his folly with the loss of his ears.

Letters between Mary and the council. July 11.

The following morning arrived at the Tower a messenger from Mary, the bearer of a letter in which, assuming the style and tone of their

[5] Noailles, ii. 62. Burnet ii. rec. 239. Somers' Tracts, i. 174. The heads of this instrument are taken out of the will of Edward VI. which is published in Howell's State Trials, i. 754. The words, "born within the realm," were added to exclude the Scottish line.

sovereign, she upbraided them with their neglect to inform her of the death of her brother, hinted her knowledge of their disloyal intention to oppose her right, and commanded them, as they hoped for favour, to proclaim her accession immediately in the metropolis, and as soon as possible, in all other parts of the kingdom.

This communication caused no change in their counsels, awakened no apprehension in their minds. Mary was a single and defenceless female, unprepared to vindicate her right, without money, and without followers. *They* had taken every precaution to ensure success. The exercise of the royal authority was in their hands: the royal treasures were at their disposal; the guards had sworn obedience: a fleet of twenty armed vessels lay in the river; and a body of troops had been assembled in the isle of Wight, ready at any moment to execute their orders. Depending on their own resources, contrasted with the apparent helplessness of their adversary, they affected to dread her flight more than her resistance, and returned an answer under the signatures of the archbishop, the chancellor, and twenty-one counsellors, requiring her to abandon her false claim, and to submit as a dutiful subject to her lawful and undoubted sovereign.[6] July 12.

[6] Fox, iii. 12. Strype, iii. rec. 3. The emperor was equally persuaded of her inability to contend with the council, and on the 23d of June advised her to offer them a pardon for all past offences, and

CHAP. II.

The adherents of Mary.

In a few hours the illusion vanished. The mass of the people knew little of the lady Jane, but all had heard of the ambition of Northumberland. His real object, it was said, was now unmasked. To deprive the late king of his nearest relatives and protectors, he had persuaded Somerset to take the life of the lord admiral, and Edward to take that of Somerset. The royal youth was the next victim. He had been removed by poison to make place for the lady Jane,[7] who in her turn, would be compelled to yield the crown to Northumberland himself. These reports were circulated and believed, and the public voice, wherever it might be expressed

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to consent, if they required it, that they should hold the same offices under her, and that no change should be made in the establishment of religion. Renard's MSS. folio 6. But when he learned that she meant to fight for her right, he exhorted her to persevere: puisqu'elle s'y est mise si avant, qu'elle perde la crainte, évite de la donner à ceux qui sont de son côté, et qu'elle passe tout outre. Ibid. fol. 22.

[7] This opinion was so general, that the emperor, Aug. 23, wrote to the queen that she ought to put to death all the conspirators who had any hand in "the death" of the late king. Renard apud Griffet, xi. Renard's dispatches are in three volumes in the library at Besançon; but the more interesting of those respecting Mary were selected from the third volume and communicated to Griffet, the author of the valuable notes to the best edition of Daniel's History of France. From them Griffet compiled, in a great measure, his "Nouveaux Eclaircissemens sur l'Histoire de Marie Reine "d'Angleterre, 12mo. Amst. et Paris, 1766, of which an English translation was published under the title of "New Lights thrown "upon the History of Mary, Queen of England," 8vo. London, 1771. The papers employed by Griffet were never replaced: but those which remain bear abundant testimony to his accuracy and fidelity.

with impunity, was unanimous in favour of Mary. The very day on which the answer to her letter had been dispatched, brought the alarming intelligence that she was already joined by the earls of Bath an Sussex,[8] and by the eldest sons of the lords Wharton and Mordaunt; that the gentlemen of the neighbouring counties were hastening to her aid with their tenants and dependants; and that in a short time a numerous and formidable army would be embattled under her banners. Northumberland saw the necessity of dispatch: but how could he venture to leave the capital where his presence awed the disaffected, and secured the co-operation of his colleagues? He proposed to give the command of the forces to the duke of Suffolk, whose affection to his daughter was a pledge of his fidelity, and whose want of military experience might be supplied by the knowledge of his associates. But he could not deceive the secret partisans of Mary, who saw his perplexity, and to liberate themselves from his control, urged him to take the command upon himself. They praised his skill, his valour and his good fortune: they exaggerated the insufficiency of Suffolk, and the consequences to be apprehended from a defeat: and they prevailed upon Jane, through anxiety.

[8] Mary granted to the earl of Sussex a licence to wear "his cap, "coif, or night-cap, or two of them at his pleasure, in the royal "presence, or in the presence of any other person." Oct. 2, Heylin's Mary, 190.

CHAP. II.

July 13.

for her father, to unite with them in their entreaties to Northumberland. He gave a tardy and reluctant consent. When he took leave of his colleagues he exhorted them to fidelity with an earnestness, which betrayed his apprehensions: and, as he rode through the city at the head of his troops, he remarked in a tone of despondency, to sir John Gates, "The people "crowd to look upon us: but not one exclaims, "God speed ye."[9]

Ridley preaches against her.

From the beginning the duke had mistrusted the fidelity of the citizens: before his departure he requested the aid of the preachers, and exhorted them to appeal from the pulpit to the religious feelings of their hearers. By no one was the task performed with greater zeal than by Ridley, bishop of London, who, on the following Sunday, preached at St. Paul's cross before the lord mayor, the aldermen, and a numerous assemblage of the people. He maintained, that the daughters of Henry VIII. were, by the illegitimacy of their birth, excluded from the succession. He contrasted the opposite characters of the present competitors, the gentleness, the piety, the orthodoxy of the one, with the haughtiness, the foreign connexions, and the popish creed of the other. As a proof of Mary's bigotry, he narrated a chivalrous but unsuccessful attempt, which he had made within the last

July 16.

[9] Godwin, 106. Stow, 610, 611.

year, to withdraw her from the errors of popery:[10] and in conclusion, he conjured the audience, as they prized the pure light of the gospel, to support the cause of the lady Jane, and to oppose the claim of her idolatrous rival. But the torrent of his eloquence was poured in vain. Among his hearers there were many indifferent to either form of worship. Of the rest, the protestants had not yet learned that religious belief could affect hereditary right; and the catholics were confirmed by the bishop's arguments, in their adhesion to the interests of Mary.[11]

Her success.

That princess, to open a communication with the emperor in Flanders, had unexpectedly left Kenninghall; and, riding forty miles without rest, had reached, on the same evening, the castle of Framlingham. There her hopes were hourly cheered with the most gratifying intelligence. The earl of Essex, the lord Thomas Howard, the Jerninghams, Bedingfields, Sulyards, Pastons, and most of the neighbouring gentlemen successively arrived, with their tenants, to fight under her standard.[12] Sir Edward Hastings, sir Edmund Peckam, and sir Robert Drury, had levied ten thousand men in the counties of Oxford, Buckingham, Berks, and

July 14.

[10] See note (B).

[11] Concionatores, quos bene multos Londini constituit, nihil profecerunt: imo ne quidem egregius ille doctrina vitæque sanctitate vir Ridlæus episcopus æquis auribus auditus est. Utinam vir optimus hac in re lapsus non fuisset. Godwin, 106. See Stow, ii. 611. Burnet, 238. Heylin, 184. Hollingshed, 1089.

[12] See note (C).

CHAP. II.

Middlesex; and purposed to march from Drayton for Westminister and the palace: her more distant friends continued to send her presents of money, and offers of service: Henry Jerningham prevailed on a hostile squadron, of six sail, which had reached the harbour of Yarmouth, to acknowledge her authority; and a timely supply of arms and ammunition from the ships, relieved the more urgent wants of her adherents. In a few days Mary was surrounded by more than thirty thousand men; all volunteers in her cause, who refused to receive pay, and served through the sole motive of loyalty.[13]

Northumberland alarmed. July 17.

In this emergency doubt and distrust seem to have unnerved the mind of Northumberland, who had marched from Cambridge, in the direction of Framlingham, accompanied by his son the earl of Warwick, by the marquess of Northampton, the earl of Huntingdon, and the lord Gray. With an army of eight thousand infantry, and two thousand cavalry, inferior, indeed, in number to his opponents, but infinitely superior in military appointments and discipline, he might, by a bold and immediate attack, have dispersed the tumultuous force of the royalists; and have driven Mary across the sea, to the court of her imperial cousin. But he saw, as he

[13] Noailles, ii. 94. She, however, gave orders that "where the "captains perceived any soldier wanting money, his captain should "relieve him, but in such sort, that it appeared not otherwise but "to be of his own liberality." Journal of council in Haynes, 157.

advanced, the enthusiasm of the people in her cause: he heard that he had been proclaimed a rebel, and that a price had been fixed on his head:[14] and he feared that sir Edward Hastings would, in a few days, cut off his communication with the capital. At Bury his heart failed him. He ordered a retreat to Cambridge, and wrote to the council for a numerous and immediate reinforcement. The men perceived the irresolution of their leader: their ignorance of his motives, gave birth to the most disheartening reports; and ther ranks were hourly thinned by desertion.

The council proclaims Mary. July 18.

In the council there appeared no diminution of zeal, no want of unanimity. It was resolved to send for a body of mercenaries, which had been raised in Picardy: to issue commissions for the levying of troops, in the vicinity of the metropolis;[15] and to offer eight crowns per month, besides provisions, to volunteers. But, as such tardy expedients did not meet the urgency of the case, the lords proposed to separate and hasten to the army, at the head of their respective friends and dependants. Though Suffolk had been instructed to detain them within the walls of the Tower, he either saw not their

[14] The reward to the captor was an estate in land of the yearly value of 1000*l.* if he were a nobleman, of 500*l.* if a knight, of 500 marks if a gentleman, and 100*l* if a yeoman. Ibid.

[15] Some of them may be seen in Strype, iii. rec. p. 4., in his Cranmer, App. 165, and in Hearne's Sylloge, ep. 121.

CHAP. II.

July 19.

object, or dared not oppose their pleasure. The next morning, the lord treasurer and lord privy seal, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Pembroke, sir Thomas Cheney, and sir John Mason, left the fortress, and separated in different directions, but with a previous understanding to meet again at Baynard's castle.[16] There they were joined by the lord mayor, the recorder, and a deputation of aldermen, who had been summoned by a trusty messenger; and the discussion was opened by the earl of Arundel, who, in a set speech, declaimed against the ambition of Northumberland, and asserted the right of the two daughters of Henry VIII. The moment he had finished, the earl of Pembroke drew his sword, exclaiming, "If the arguments of my "lord of Arundel do not persuade you, this "sword shall make Mary queen, or I will die in "her quarrel." He was answered with shouts of approbation. The whole body rode in procession through the streets: at St. Paul's cross they proclaimed Mary, amidst acclamations which drowned the voice of the herald. Te Deum was sung in the cathedral: beer, wine, and money, were distributed among the people: and the night was ushered in with bonfires, illu-

[16] That very morning they signed a letter to lord Rich, thanking him for his services in favour of Jane. (Strype's Cranmer, App. 164.) Did they not know that he had already transferred them to Mary? Haynes, i. 159.

minations, and the accustomed demonstrations of public joy.[17]

Northumberland is arrested.

While the earl of Arundel and the lord Paget carried the intelligence of this revolution to Framlingham, the earl of Pembroke, with his company of the guard, took possession of the Tower. The next morning, the lady Jane departed to Sion house. Her reign had lasted but nine days; and they had been days of anxiety and distress. She had suffered much from her own apprehensions of an unfortunate result, more from the displeasure of her husband, and the imperious humour of his mother.[18] The moment she was gone, the lords, without any distinction of party, united in sending an order to Northumberland to disband his forces, and to aknowledge Mary for his sovereign. But he had already taken the only part which prudence suggested. Sending for the vice-chancellor, Dr. Sands, who, on the preceding Sunday, had preached against the daughters of Henry, he proceeded to the market place, where, with tears of grief running down his cheeks, he proclaimed

July 20.

[17] Godwin, 107, 108. Stow, 612. King's MSS. xvii. A. ix. Their letter to the queen is in Strype's Cranmer, App. 106.

[18] The quarrel arose from the ambition of Guilford. After a long discussion, Jane consented to give him the crown by act of parliament: but when she was left to herself, she repented of her facility, and informed him that she would make him a duke, but not king. In his anger he abstained from her company and her bed, and threatened to go back to Sion house; the duchess chided and upbraided her; and she was so alarmed, that she persuaded herself they had given her poison. See her letter in Pollini, 357.

CHAP. II.

July 22.

the lady Mary, and threw his cap into the air in token of joy. The next morning he was arrested on a charge of high treason, by the earl of Arundel, and was conducted, with several of his associates, to the Tower. It required a strong guard to protect the prisoners from the vengeance of the populace.[19]

The queen enters the capital.

The lady Elizabeth had taken no part in this contest. To a messenger, indeed, from Northumberland, who offered her a large sum of money, and a valuable grant of lands, as the price of her voluntary renunciation of all right to the succession, she replied, that she had no right to renounce, as long as her eldest sister was living. But, if she did not join the lady Jane, she did nothing in aid of the lady Mary. Under the excuse of a real or feigned indisposition, she confined herself to her chamber, that, whichever party proved victorious, she might claim the negative merit of non-resistance. Now, however, the contest was at an end: the new queen approached her capital: and Elizabeth deemed

[19] Stow, 612. Godwin, 109. The number of prisoners for trial was twenty-seven—the dukes of *Suffolk* and Northumberland; the marquess of Northampton; the earls of *Huntingdon* and Warwick; the lords *Robert*, *Henry*, Ambrose, and Guilford Dudley; the lady Jane Dudley; the bishops of Canterbury, *London*, and *Ely*; the lords *Ferrers*, *Clinton*, and *Cobham*; the judges *Montague* and *Cholmeley*, and *the chancellor of the augmentations*; Andrew Dudley, John Gates, Henry Gates, Thomas Palmer, *Henry Palmer*, *John Check*, *John York*, knights; and Dr. *Cocks*. Haynes, 192, 193. When this list was given to the queen, she struck out the names in italics, and reduced the number from twenty-seven to eleven.

CHAP. II.

July 31.

it prudent to court the favour of the conqueror. At the head of a hundred and fifty horse, she met her at Aldgate. They rode together in triumphal procession through the streets, which were lined with the different crafts in their gayest attire. Every eye was directed towards the royal sisters. Those who had seen Henry VIII. and Catharine, could discover little in the queen, to remind them of the majestic port of her father, or of the beautiful features and graceful carriage of her mother. Her figure was short and small: the lines of care were deeply impressed on her countenance: and her dark piercing eyes struck with awe all those on whom they were fixed. In personal appearance Elizabeth had the advantage. She was in the bloom of youth, about half the age of the queen. Without much pretension to beauty, she could boast of agreeable features, large blue eyes, a tall and portly figure, and of hands, the elegant symmetry of which she was proud to display on every occasion.[20]

[20] They are thus described by the Venetian ambassador, in his official communication to the senate. The queen is donna di statura piccola, di persona magre e delicata, dissimile in tutto al padre et alla madre... ha gli occhi tanto vivi, che inducano non solo riverentia ma timor. Elizabeth e piu tosto graziosa che bella, di persona grande e ben formata, olivastra in complexione, belli occhi, e sopra tutto bella mano, della quale ne fa professione. The writer was M. Gio. Michele, galantissimo e virtuosissimo gentilhuomo, (Ep. Poli, v App. 349.) who, on his return to Venice, compiled an account of England, by order of the senate. It was read in that assembly, May. 13, 1557. The MS. is in the Barberini library, N°. 1208: and a copy among the Lansdown MSS. DCCCXL. B.

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As they passed, their ears were stunned with the acclamations of the people: when they entered the Tower, they found kneeling on the green, the state prisoners, the dutchess of Somerset, the duke of Norfolk, the son of the late marquess of Exeter, and Gardiner, the deprived bishop of Winchester. That prelate pronounced a short congratulatory address. Mary, affected unto tears, called them *her* prisoners, bade them rise, and having kissed them, gave them their liberty. The same day she ordered a dole to be distributed, of eight pence, to every poor householder in the city.

The new council.

In the appointment of her official advisers, the new queen was directed by necessity as much as choice. If the lords, who, escaping from the Tower, had proclaimed her in the city, expected to retain their former situations, the noblemen and gentlemen who had adhered to her fortunes, when every probability was against her, had still more powerful claims on her gratitude. She sought to satisfy both classes, by admitting them into her council: and to these she added a few others, chiefly Gardiner and Tunstal, the deprived bishops of Winchester and Durham, who, under her father, had been empoyed in offices of trust, and had discharged

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fol. 139. It is remarkable, that though Bohun says, "her skin "was of pure white," and Naunton, that her "complexion was "fair," yet Michele, who often saw her, here asserts, that she was olivastria di complexione, of an olive or dark complexion.

CHAP. II.

them with fidelity and success. The acknowledged abilities of the former soon raised him to the post of prime minister. He first received the custody of the seals, and was soon afterwards appointed chancellor.[21] The next to him in ability and influence in the council, was the lord Paget.

August 2.

Sept. 21.

Though the queen found herself unexpectedly in debt from the policy of Northumberland, who had kept the officers and servants of the crown three years in arrear of their salaries;[22] she issued two proclamations which drew upon her the blessings of the whole nation. By the first she restored a depreciated currency to its original value: ordered a new coinage of sovereigns and half-sovereigns, angels and half-angels, of fine gold; and of silver groats, half-groats, and pennies of the standard purity; and charged the whole loss and expense to the treasury. By the other she remitted to her people, in gratitude for their attachment to her right, the subsidy of four shillings in the pound on land, and two shillings and eight pence on goods, which had been granted to the crown by the late parliament.[23]

Proclamations.

August 30.

[21] Noailles, ii. 123. Gardiner was peculiarly obnoxious to the French ministers, from the uncourteous manner in which, on two occasions, he had executed the harsh and imperious mandates of his master, Henry VIII. Noailles complains, that imprisonment had not tamed him. Ibid.

[22] Noailles. ii. 92. His object had been to attach them to his cause, through the fear of losing their arrears.

[23] Strype, iii. 8. 10. St. 1 Mary, c. xvii. The sovereign was to pass at thirty, the angel at ten shillings. Noailles, 141.

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At the same time she introduced, within the palace, an innovation highly gratifying to the younger branches of the nobility, though it foreboded little good to the reformed preachers. Under Edward, their fanaticism had given to the court a sombre and funereal appearance. That they might exclude from it the pomps of the devil, they had strictly forbidden all richness of apparel, and every fashionable amusement. But Mary, who recollected with pleasure the splendid gaieties of her father's reign, appeared pub-
Aug. 8. licly in jewels and coloured silks: the ladies, emancipated from restraint, copied her example: and the courtiers, encouraged by the approbation of their sovereign, presumed to dress with a splendour that became their rank in the state.[24] A new impulse was thus communicated to all classes of persons: and considerable sums were expended by the citizens, in public and private decorations, preparatory to the coronation. That
Oct. 1. ceremony was performed after the ancient rite, by Gardiner, bishop of Winchester:[25] and was concluded in the usual manner, with a mag-

[24] Elle a desja osté les *superstitions*, qui estoient par cydevant, ques les femmes, ne portassent dorures ni habillemens de couleur, estant elle mesme et beaucoup de sa compagnie, parées de dorures, et habillées à la Françoise de robes à grandz manches. Noailles, ii. 104. Elle est l'une des dames du monde, qui prend maintenant aultant de plaisir en habillemens, 146. Les millords et jeunes seigneurs portent chausses aultant exquises, soit de thoiles et drapz d'or et broderies que j'en aye peu veoir en France ne ailleurs, 211.

[25] "It was done royally, and such a multitude of people resorted "out of all parties of the realme to se the same, that the like had "not been seen tofore." Cont. of Fabian, 557.

nificent banquet in Westminister hall.[26] The same day a general pardon was proclaimed, with the exception, by name, of sixty individuals who had been committed to prison, or confined to their own houses, by order of council, for treasonable or seditious offences committed since the queen's accession.

But though Mary was now firmly seated on the throne, she found herself without a friend, to whom she could open her mind with freedom and safety. Among the leading members of her council there was not one who had not, in the reigns of her father or her brother, professed himself her enemy; nor did she now dare to trust them with her confidence, till she had assured herself of their fidelity. In this distress she had recourse to the prince who had always proved himself her friend, and who, she persuaded herself, could have no interest in deceiving her. She solicited the advice of the emperor on three very important questions; the punishment of those who had conspired to deprive her of the crown, the choice of her future husband, and the restoration of the ancient worship. It was agreed between them that the correspondence on these subjects should pass through the hands of the imperial ambas-

The queen consults the emperor

[26] Strype, iii. 36. Stow, 616. Hollings. 1091. In the church Elizabeth carried the crown. She whispered to Noailles, that it was very heavy. "Be patient," he replied; "it will seem lighter, "when it is on your own head." Renard apud Griffet, xiii.

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sador, Simon de Reynard; and that he, to elude suspicion, should live in comparative privacy, and very seldom make his appearance at court.

respecting the traitors.

1°. To the first question Charles replied, that it was the common interests of sovereigns that rebellion should not go unpunished; but that she ought to blend mercy with justice; and, having inflicted speedy vengeance on the chief of the conspirators, to grant a free and unsolicited pardon to the remainder. In compliance

July 20.

with this advice, Mary selected out of the list of prisoners seven only for immediate trial: the duke of Northumberland, the contriver and executor of the plot; his son, the earl of Warwick; the marquess of Northampton, sir John Gates, sir Henry Gates, sir Andrew Dudley, and sir Thomas Palmer, his principal counsellors and constant associates. It was in vain that the imperial ministers urged her to include the lady Jane in the number. Were she spared, the queen, they alleged, could never reign in security. The first faction that dared, would again set her up as a rival. She had usurped the crown; and policy required that she should pay the forfeit of her presumption. But Mary undertook her defence. She could not, she said, find in her heart or in her conscience to put her unfortunate cousin to death. Jane was not so guilty as the emperor believed. She had not been the accomplice of Northumberland, but merely a puppet in his hands. Neither was she his

daughter-in-law; for she had been validly contracted to another person, before she was compelled to marry Guilford Dudley. As for the danger arising from her pretensions, it was but imaginary. Every requisite precaution might be taken, before she was restored to liberty.[27]

Their trials.

For the trial of the three noblemen, the duke of Norfolk had been appointed high steward. When they were brought before their peers, Northumberland submitted to the consideration of the court the following questions: Could that man be guilty of treason who had acted by the authority of the council, and under the warrant of the great seal; or could those persons sit in judgment upon him who, during the whole proceeding, had been his advisers and accomplices? It was replied, that the council and great seal of which he spoke, were not those of the sovereign, but of an usurper; and that the lords to whom he alluded, were able in law to sit as judges, so long as there was no record of attainder against them. In these answers he acquiesced; pleaded guilty together with his companions; and petitioned the queen that she would commute his punishment into decapitation; that mercy might be extended to his children who had acted under his direction; that he might have the aid of an able divine to prepare himself for death; and might be allowed to

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[27] Renard apud Griffet, xi.

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confer with two lords of the council on certain secrets of state, which had come to his knowledge, while he was prime minister. To these requests Mary assented.[28]

And punishment. Aug. 21.

Of the three lords, Northumberland alone, of the four commoners, who also pleaded guilty, sir John Gates and sir Thomas Palmer were selected for execution. The morning before they suffered, they attended and communicated at a solemn mass in the Tower, in presence of several lords, and of the mayor and aldermen. On the scaffold a few words passed between Gates and the duke. Each charged the other with the origin of the conspiracy; but the altercation was conducted with temper, and they ended by reciprocally asking forgiveness. Northumberland, stepping to the rail, addressed the spectators. He acknowledged the justice of his punishment, but denied that he was the first projector of the treason. He called on them to witness that he was in charity with all mankind: that he died in the faith of his fathers,

[28] Stow, 614. Howell's State Trials, 765. Persons (in his Wardword, p. 44.) informs us that in consequence of the last request, Gardiner and another counsellor (the informer of Persons) visited him in the Tower. The duke earnestly petitioned for life. Gardiner gave him little hope, but promised his services. Returning to court, he entreated the queen to spare the prisoner, and had in a manner obtained her consent; but the opposite party in the cabinet wrote to the emperor, who by letter persuaded Mary "that "it was not safe for her or the state to pardon his life." From Renard's dispatches I have no doubt that this account is substantially correct.

though ambition had induced him to conform in practice to a worship which he condemned in his heart: and that his last prayer was for the return of his countrymen to the catholic church, from which he had been instrumental in leading them astray. Gates and Palmer suffered after the duke, each expressing similar sentiments, and soliciting the prayers of the beholders.[29]

Queen proposes to marry. July 29.

2°. Under the reign of Edward, Mary had spontaneously preferred a single life: but, from the moment of her accession to the throne, she made no secret of her intention to marry. Of natives, two only were proposed to her choice, both descended from the house of York; Cardinal Pole, and Courteney, whom the queen had recently liberated from the Tower. The cardinal she respected for his talents and virtues, his advocacy of her mother's right, and his sufferings in her cause. But his age and infirmities forbade

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[29] If we may believe Fox (iii. 13.) Northumberland was induced to make this profession of his belief, by a delusive promise of pardon. He himself asserts the contrary. "I do protest to you, "good people, earnestly, even from the bottom of my heart, that "this, which I have spoken, is of myself, not being required nor "moved thereto of any man, nor for any flattery, nor hope of life. "And I take witness of my lord of Worcester here, my ghostly "father, that he found me in this mind and opinion, when he "came to me." Stow, 615. Indeed, he was known, in Edward's reign, to have no other religion than interest, and on one occasion spoke so contumeliously of the new service, that archbishop Cranmer in a moment of zeal or passion, challenged him to a duel. Ad duellum provocaret. Parker, Ant. Brit. 341. "He offered to "combate with the duke." Morrice apud Strype, 430.

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her to think of him for a husband.[30] Courteney was young and handsome: his royal descent and unmerited imprisonment (for his character was unknown) had made him the favourite of the nation: and his mother, the countess of Exeter, was the individual companion and bed-fellow of the queen. Mary at first betrayed a partiality for the young man: she created him earl of Devonshire: she sought, by different artifices, to keep him near herself and his mother: and she made it her study to fashion his manners, which during his confinement in the Tower, had been entirely neglected. The courtiers confidently predicted their marriage; and Gardiner promoted it with all the influence of his station But if Courteney had made any impression on the heart of the queen, it was speedily effaced by his misconduct. Having once tasted of liberty, he resolved to enjoy it without restraint. He frequented the lowest society: he spent much of his time in the company of prostitutes; and he indulged in gratifications disgraceful to his rank, and shocking to the piety and feelings of the queen. It was in vain that she commissioned a gentleman of the court to guide his inexperience; in vain that the French and Venetian ambassadors admonished him of the consequences of his folly: he scorned their advice,

[30] Quant au Cardinal, je ne scay pas qui parle que la royne y eut oppinion; car il n'est ne d'age, ne de sancté convenables à ce qu'elle demande, et qui luy est propre. Noailles, 207.

refused to speak to his monitor, and pursued his wild career, till he had entirely forfeited the esteem and favour of his sovereign. In public she observed, that it was not for her honour to marry a subject: but to her confidential friends she attributed the cause to the immorality of Courteney.[31]

The emperor offers his son.

The foreign princes, mentioned by the lords of the council, were the king of Denmark, the prince of Spain, the infant of Portugal, the prince of Piedmont, and the son of the king of the Romans. Mary, who had already asked the advice of the emperor, waited with impatience for his answer. It was obviously the interest of Charles that she should prefer his son Philip. His inveterate enemy the king of France, was in possession of the young queen of Scots; within two or three years that princess would be married to the dauphin; and in all probability the crown of Scotland would be united to that of

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[31] Noailles, 111, 112. 147. 218. 220. Ceste Royne est en mauvaise oppinion de luy, pour avoir entendu qu'il faict beaucoup de jeunesses, et mesme d'aller souvent avecques les femmes publicques et de mauvaise vie, et suivre d'aultres compaignies sans regarder la gravité et rang qu'il doibt tenir pour aspirer en si hault lieu..... Mais il est si mal ayse à conduire, qu'il ne veult croire personne, et comme celluy qui a demeuré toute sa vie dans une tour, se voyant maintenant jouyr d'une grande liberté il ne se peult saouller des devant les yeulx. Ibid. 219, 220. I have transcribed these passages; because Hume, to account for the rejection of Courteney, has given us a very romantic statement, for which he could have no better authority than his own imagination.

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France. But if Charles had hitherto envied the good fortune of Henry, accident had now made him amends: the queen of England was a better match than the queen of Scotland; and if he could persuade Mary to give her hand to Philip, that alliance would confer on him a proud superiority over his rival. He was, however, careful not to commit himself by too hasty an answer: but trusted for a while to the address and in-

Aug. 14. fluence of Renard. That ambassador was admonished to consider this as the most important but most delicate point in his mission: to bear in mind that the inclination of a woman was more likely to be inflamed than extinguished by opposition; to draw to light, by distant questions and accidental remarks, the secret dispositions of the queen; to throw into his conversation occasional hints of the advantages to be derived from a foreign alliance; and, above all, to commit no act, to drop no word, from which she might infer that he was an enemy to her marriage with Courteney.[32] Renard obeyed his instructions: he watched with attention the successive steps by which that nobleman sunk

Sept. 20. in the royal estimation; and soon announced to his sovereign that Courteney had no longer any hold on the affections of Mary. Charles now ordered him to inform the queen that he ap-

[32] Car si elle y avoit fantaisie, elle ne layroit, si elle du naturel des autres femmes, de passer outre, et si se resentiroit à jamais de ce que vous lui en pourriez avoir dit. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 38.

proved of the reasons which induced her to reject her young kinsman, and was sorry that the unambitious piety of cardinal Pole made him prefer the duties of a clergyman to the highest of worldly distinctions. Still perhaps she had no cause to regret the loss of either: a foreign prince would bring as a husband, a firmer support to her throne: and were it that his age would allow him, he should himself aspire to the honour of her hand. He might, however, solicit in favour of others; nor could he offer to her choice one more dear to himself than his son, the prince of Spain. The advantages of such an union were evident: but let her not be swayed by his authority; she had only to consult her own inclination and judgment, and to communicate the result to him without fear or reserve.[33]

Opposition to Philip.

It was soon discovered by the courtiers that Philip had been proposed to the queen, and had not been rejected. The chancellor was the first to remonstrate with his sovereign. He observed to her that her people would more readily submit to the rule of a native than of a foreigner; that the arrogance of the Spaniards had rendered them odious in other nations, and would never be borne by Englishmen; that Philip by his haughty carriage had already earned the dislike

[33] Nous ne voudrions choisir autre partie en ce monde que de nous allier nous mèmes avec elle.—Mais au lieu de nous, ne lui saurions mettre en avant personnage, qui nous soit plus cher que notre propre fils. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 49. Griffet, xiv.

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of his own subjects; that such an alliance must be followed by perpetual war with the king of France, who would never consent that the Low Countries should be annexed to the English crown; and that the marriage could not be validly celebrated without a dispensation from the pope, whose authority was not yet acknowledged in the kingdom. Gardiner, who spoke the sentiments of the majority of the council, was followed by others of his colleagues; they were opposed by the duke of Norfolk, the earl of Arundel, and the Lord Paget.[34]

On no persons did this intelligence make a deeper impression than on the French and Venetian ambassadors, who deemed it their duty to throw every obstacle in the way of a marriage which would so greatly augment the power of Spain. They secretly gave advice to Courteney; they promised their influence to create a party in his favour; and they laboured to obtain in the ensuing parliament a declaration against the Spanish match. Noailles went even

[34] Noailles, i. 214. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 48. Griffet, xvi. xix. Most of our historians represent Gardiner as the enemy of Courteney, and the deviser of the Spanish match. It is, however, evident, from the dispatches of both ambassadors, that he was the friend of Courteney, and the great opponent of the marriage. See MSS. copy. It must also have been so understood at the time: for Persons, who never saw those dispatches, says, "Every child acquainted with that state "knoweth or may learn, that B. Gardiner was of the contrary "part or faction that favoured young Edward Courteney, the earl of "Devonshire, and would have had him to marry the queen." Wardword, 46.

further. He intrigued with the discontented of every description; and though it was contrary to the instructions of his sovereign, he endeavoured to propagate a notion, that the rightful heir to the crown was neither Mary, nor Elizabeth, nor Jane, but the young queen of Scotland, Mary Stuart, daughter to the eldest sister of Henry VIII.[35]

Orders respecting religion.

3°. That attachment to the ancient faith which Mary had shewn during the reign of her brother, had not been loosened by the late unsuccessful attempt to identify the cause of rebellion with that of the reformation. On her accession, she acquainted both the emperor and the king of France with her determination to restore the catholic worship. Henry applauded her zeal, and offered the aid of his forces, if it were necessary, towards the accomplishment of the work: but Charles advised her to proceed with temper and caution, and to abstain from any public innovation till she had obtained the consent of her parliament. It was in compliance with his wish that she suffered the archbishop to officiate according to the established form at the funeral of her brother in Westminster abbey; but a solemn dirge and high mass were chaunted for him at the same time in the chapel of the Tower, in the presence of the nobility and courtiers, to the number of

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[35] Noailles, 145. 157. 161. 164. 168. 194. 211. 221.

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three hundred persons.[36] She issued no order for the public restoration of the ancient service; but she maintained that she had a right to worship God as she pleased within her own palace; and was highly flattered by the compliance of those who followed her example. The proceedings against the bishops, deprived in the last reign, were revised and reversed in a new court of delegates, held by the royal authority; and Gardiner, Bonner, Tunstal, Heath, and Day, recovered the possession of their respective churches. The real object of the queen could not remain a secret; the reformed preachers from the pulpit alarmed the zeal of their hearers; and the catholic clergy, trusting to the protection of the sovereign, feared not to transgress the existing laws. A riot was occasioned by the unauthorized celebration of mass in a church in the horse market. The council reprimanded and imprisoned the priest; and the queen sending for the lord mayor and aldermen, ordered them to put down all tumultuous assemblies. But the passions of the reformers had been excited: and the very next day the peace of the metropolis was interrupted by another ebullition of religious animosity. Bourne, one of the

Riots.

Aug. 12.

[36] Noailles, 108. 129. Griffet, xi. Non se trop haster avec zele —mais qu'elle s'accommode avec toute douceur se conformant aux definitions du parlement, sans rien faire toutefois de sa personne qui soit contre sa conscience, ayant seulement la messe à part en sa chambre—qu'elle attende jusques elle aye opportunité de rassembler parlément. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 24.

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royal chaplains, had been appointed to preach at St. Paul's cross. In the course of his sermon he complained of the late innovations, and of the illegal deprivation of the catholic prelates. "Pull him down," suddenly exclaimed a voice in the crowd. The cry was echoed by several groups of women and children: and a dagger, thrown with considerable violence, struck one of the columns of the pulpit. Bourne, alarmed for his life, withdrew into St. Paul's church, under the protection of Bradford and Rogers, two reformed preachers. Aug. 13.

This outrage, evidently preconcerted, injured the cause which it was designed to serve. It furnished Mary with a pretext to forbid, after the example of the two last monarchs, preaching in public without licence. The citizens were made responsible for the conduct of their children and servants: and the lord mayor was told to resign the sword into the hands of the sovereign, if he were unable to maintain the peace of the city.[37] A proclamation followed, in which the queen declared that she could not conceal her religion, which God and the world knew that she had professed from her infancy; but she had no intention to compel any one to embrace it till farther order were taken by common consent; and therefore she strictly forbade all persons to excite sedition Aug. 14. Aug. 18.

[37] Journal of council in Archæologia, xviii. 173, 174. Haynes, i. 168—170.

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among the people, or to foment dissension by using the opprobrious terms of heretic or papist.[38]

Elizabeth conforms.

The reformers now fixed their hopes on the constancy of the lady Elizabeth, the presumptive heir to the throne. They already considered her as the rival of the queen; and it was openly said that it would not be more difficult to transfer the sceptre to her hands than it had been to place it in those of Mary. On this account it had been proposed by some of the royal advisers, as a measure of precaution, to put Elizabeth under a temporary arrest: but Mary refused her assent, and rather sought to weaken her sister's interest with the reformers, by withdrawing her from the new to the ancient worship. For some time the princess resisted every attempt: but when she learned that her repugnance was thought to arise, not from motives of conscience, but from the persuasions of the factious, she solicited a private audience,

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threw herself on her kness, and excused her past obstinacy, on the ground that she had never practised any other than the reformed worship, nor ever studied the articles of the ancient faith. Perhaps, if she were furnished with books, and aided by the instructions of divines, she might see her errors, and embrace the religion of her fathers. After this begin-

[38] Wilk. Con. iv. 86.

ning, the reader will not be surprised to learn that her conversion was effected in the short course of a week. Mary now treated her with extraordinary kindness: and Elizabeth, to prove her sincerity, not only accompanied her sister to mass, but opened a chapel in her own house, and wrote to the emperor for leave to purchase in Flanders, a chalice, cross, and the ornaments usually employed in the celebration of the catholic worship.[39]

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Sept. 8.

Dec. 2.

But the protestant cause was consoled for the defection of Elizabeth by the zeal of the archbishop. Cranmer had hitherto experienced the lenity of the queen. Though he had been the author of her mother's divorce, and one of the last to abandon the conspiracy of Northumberland, he had not been sent to the Tower, but received an order to confine himself to his palace at Lambeth. In this retirement he had leisure to mourn over the failure of his hopes, and to anticipate the abolition of that worship, which he had so earnestly laboured to establish. But to add to his affliction, intelligence was brought him that the catholic service had been performed in his church at Canterbury; that by strangers this innovation was supposed to have been made by his order or with his consent; and that a report was circulated of his having offered to celebrate mass before the queen.

Cranmer's declaration.

[39] Compare the dispatches of Noailles, 138. 141. 166. with those of Renard in Griffet, xi. xxiv.

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Cranmer hastened to refute these charges by a public denial: and in a declaration which, while its boldness does honour to his courage, betrays by its asperity the bitterness of his feelings, asserted that the mass was the device and invention of the father of lies, who was even then persecuting Christ, his holy word, and his church; that it was not he, the archbishop, but a false, flattering, lying and deceitful monk, who had restored the ancient worship at Canterbury: that he had never offered to say mass before the queen, but was willing, with her permission, to shew that it contained many horrible blasphemies; and with the aid of Peter Martyr to prove, that the doctrine and worship established under Edward, was the same as had been believed and practised in the first ages of the Christian church.[40] Of this intemperate declaration several copies were dispersed, and publicly read to the people in the streets. The council

Sept. 8. sent from the archbishop, and "after a long and "serious debate committed him to the Tower, "as well for the treason committed by him "against the queen's highness, as for the aggra- "vating the same his offence by spreading "abroad seditious bills, and moving tumults to "the disquietness of the present state." A few

Sept. 13. days afterwards, Latimer, who probably had imitated the conduct of the metropolitan, was

[40] Strype's Cranmer, 305.

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also sent to the same prison for "his seditious demeanour."[41]

The pope appoints Pole his legate.

To Julius III. the Roman pontiff, the accession of Mary had been a subject of triumph. Foreseeing the result, he immediately appointed cardinal Pole his legate to the queen, the emperor and the king of France. But Pole hesitated to leave his retirement at Magguzzano, on the margin of the lake of Guarda, without more satisfactory information; and Dandino the legate at Brussels, dispatched to England a gentleman of his suite, Gianfrancesco Commendone, chamberlain to the pontiff. Commendone came from Gravelines to London in the character of a stranger, whose uncle was lately dead, leaving accounts of importance unsettled in England. For some days he wandered unknown through the streets, carefully noting whatever he saw or heard: till chance brought him into the company of an old acquaintance of the name of Lee, then a servant in the royal household. Through him Commendone procured more than one interview with Mary; and carried from her the following message to the pope and the cardinal: Aug. 25 that it was her most anxious wish to see her kingdom reconciled with the holy see: that for this purpose she meant to procure the repeal of all laws trenching on the doctrine or discipline of the catholic church: that on the other hand

[41] Journal of council, in Archæol. xviii. 175. Haynes, i. 183, 184.

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she hoped to experience no obstacle on the part of the pontiff or of her kinsman the papal representative: and that for the success of the undertaking it would be necessary to act with temper and prudence: to respect the prejudices of her subjects; and most carefully to conceal the least trace of any correspondence between her and the court of Rome.[42]

Meeting of paliament. Oct. 5.

Such was the situation of affairs, when Mary met her first parliament.[43] Both peers and commoners, according to the usage of ancient times, accompanied their sovereign to a solemn mass of the Holy Ghost; the chancellor in his speech to the houses, the speaker in his address to the throne, celebrated the piety, the clemency, and the other virtues of their sovereign: and her ears were repeatedly greeted with the loudest expressions of loyalty and attachment. The two objects, which at this moment she had principally at heart, were to remove from herself the stain of illegitimacy, and to restore to its former ascendency the religion of her fathers. To the first she anticipated no objection; the second

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[42] Pallavicino, ii. 397. Quirini's collection of Pole's letters, iv. 111.

[43] Burnet has fallen into two errors, with respect to this parliament: 1st. That Nowel, representative for Loo, in Cornwall, was not allowed to sit because, being a clergyman, he was *represented* in the convocation, whereas the reason stated, is, that *he had a voice* in the convocation. Journals, 27. 512. 2d. That the lords *altered* the bill of tonnage and poundage. They objected, indeed, to two provisos; but the commons, instead of allowing them to be altered, withdrew the old, and introduced a new bill. Journals, 28, 29.

was an attempt of more doubtful result; not that her subjects, in general, were opposed to the ancient worship, but that they expressed a strong antipathy to the papal jurisdiction. The new service was, indeed, every where established: but it had been embraced through compulsion rather than conviction. Men felt for it little of that attachment, with which spontaneous proselytes are always inspired. Only four years had elapsed since its introduction; and their former habits, prepossessions, and opinions, pleaded in favour of a worship with which they had been familiarised from their infancy. But the supremacy of the pontiff appeared to them in a different light. Its exercise in England had been abolished for thirty years. The existing generation knew no more of the pope, his pretensions, or his authority, than they had learned from his adversaries. His usurpation and tyranny had been the favourite theme of the preachers, and the re-establishment of his jurisdiction had always been described to them as the worst evil which could befal their country. In addition it was said and believed, that the restoration of ecclesiastical property was essentially connected with the recognition of the papal authority. If the spoils of the church had been at first confined to a few favourites and purchasers, they were now become, by sales and bequests, divided and subdivided among thousands; and almost every family of opulence in

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the kingdom had reason to deprecate a measure which, according to the general opinion, would induce the compulsive surrender of the whole, or of a part of its possessions.

First session.

By the council it was at first determined to attempt both objects by a most comprehensive bill, which should repeal at once all the acts that had been passed in the two last reigns, affecting either the marriage between the queen's father and mother, or the exercise of religion as it stood in the first year of Henry VIII. By the

Oct. 10.

peers no objection was made; but during the progress of the bill through the upper house, it became the general subject of conversation, and was condemned as an insidious attempt to restore the authority of the pope. The ministers felt alarm at the opposition which was already organized among the commons; and the queen

Oct. 21.

coming unexpectedly to the house of lords, gave the royal assent to three bills (the only bills which had been passed,) and prorogued the parliament for the space of three days.[44]

Second session.

In the succeeding session two new bills were introduced, in the place of the former; one con-

[44] Historians have indulged in fanciful conjectures to account for the shortness of the session. The true reason may be discovered in Mary's letter to Cardinal Pole of 28th of October. Plus difficultatis fit circa auctoritatem sedis apostolicæ quam veræ religionis cultum .....siquidem primus ordo comitiorum existimaverat consultum ut omnia statuta.....abrogarentur.....Cum vero hæc deliberatio secundo ordini comitiorum innotuisset, statim suspicatus est hæc proponi in gratiam pontificis, &c. Quirini, iv. 112.

firming the marriage of Henry and Catharine, the other regulating the national worship. In the first all reference to the papal dispensation was dexterously avoided. It stated that, after the queen's father and mother had lived together in lawful matrimony for the space of twenty years, unfounded scruples and projects of divorce had been suggested to the king by interested individuals, who, to accomplish their design, procured in their favour, the seals of foreign universities by bribery, of the national universities by intrigues and threats; and that Thomas, then newly made archbishop of Canterbury, most ungodlily, and against all rules of equity and conscience, took upon himself to pronounce, in the absence of the queen, a judgment of divorce, which was afterwards, on two occasions, confirmed by parliament: but that, as the said marriage was not prohibited by the law of God, it could not be dissolved by any such authority: wherefore, it enacted that all statutes confirmatory of the divorce, should be repealed, and the marriage between Henry and Catharine should be adjudged to stand with God's law, and should be reputed of good effect and validity, to all intents and purposes whatsoever. Against this bill, though it was equivalent to a statute of bastardy in respect of Elizabeth, not a voice was raised in either house of parliament.[45]

[45] St. 1 Mary, sess. 2. c. 1. Sine scrupulo, aut difficultate. Mary to Pole, Nov. 15th. Quirini, iv. 122.

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Oct. 28. Restoration of the ancient service.

The next motion was so framed as to elude the objections of those who were hostile to the pretensions of the see of Rome. It had no reference to the alienation of church property; it trenched not on the ecclesiastical supremacy of the crown; it professed to have no other object than to restore religion to that state in which Edward found it on his accession, and to repeal nine acts passed through the influence of a faction during his minority. The opposition was confined to the lower house, in which, on the second reading, the debate continued two days. But though the friends of the new doctrines are said to have amounted to one third of the members, the bill passed apparently without a division.[46] By it was at once razed to the ground, that fabric which the ingenuity and perseverance of archbishop Cranmer had erected in the last reign: the reformed liturgy, which Edward's parliament had attributed to the inspiration of the Holy Ghost, was now pronounced "a new "thing, imagined and devised by a few of sin-"gular opinions:" the acts establishing the first and second books of common prayer, the new ordinal, and the administration of the sacrament in both kinds, that authorising the marriages of priests, and legitimating their children, and

Nov. 8.

[46] Noailles says, ce qui a demeuré huict jours en merveilleuse dispute: a n'a sçeu passer ce bill, que la tierce partie de ceulx du tiers estat ne soyent demeuréz de contraire opinion. Noailles, ii. 247. Yet the journals mention no division. Journals, 29.

those abolishing certain festivals and fasts, vesting in the king the appointment of bishops by letter patent, and regulating the exercise of the episcopal jurisdiction, were repealed; and in lieu thereof, it was enjoined that from the twentieth day of the next month should be revived and practised such forms of divine worship and administration of sacraments, as had been most commonly used in England in the last year of Henry VIII.[47]

Other enactments.

By other bills passed in this parliament, all bonds, deeds, and writings, between individuals, bearing date during the short reign of the lady Jane, were made as good and effectual in law, as if the name of the rightful sovereign had been expressed: all treasons created since the 25th of Edward III., with all new felonies and cases of præmunire, introduced since the first of Henry VIII., were abolished; but at the same time the statute of Edward VI. against riotous assemblies, was in part revived, and extended to such meetings as should have for their object, to change, by force, the existing laws in matters of religion. To these may be added several private bills, restoring in blood those persons who had been deprived of their hereditary rights by the iniquitous judgments passed in the preceding reign,[48] and one of severity.

[47] 1 Mary, sess. 2. c. 2. Quod non sine contentione, disputatione acri et summo labore fidelium factum est. Mary to Pole. Quirini, iv. 122.

[48] See note (D).

CHAP II.

attainting the authors and chief abettors of the late conspiracy to exclude the queen from the succession. It was, however, limited to the persons whose condemnation has been already mentioned, and to Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, Guilford Dudley, Jane Dudley his wife, and sir Ambrose Dudley, who had been arraigned and convicted on their own confessions during the sitting of parliament. Mary had no intention that they should suffer: but she hoped that the knowledge of their danger would secure the loyalty of their friends; and when she signed the pardon of Northampton and Gates, gave orders that the other prisoners should receive every indulgence compatible with their situation.[49]

Parties respecting the queen's marriage.

But that which, during the sitting of the parliament, chiefly interested and agitated the public mind, was the project of marriage between Mary and Philip of Spain. The court was divided into two factions. At the head of the imperialists were the earl of Arundel, the lord Paget, and Rochester comptroller of the household, all three high in the favour of the queen: they were still opposed by Gardiner, the chancellor, who, though he received but little support from the timidity of his colleagues in the council, was in public seconded by the voices of the more clamorous, if not the more numerous, portion of the people. Protestants and catholics,

[49] St. 1 Mary, c. xvi. Journal of council, Archæologia, xviii. 176.

CHAP. II.

postponing their religious animosities, joined in reprobating a measure which would place a foreign and despotic prince on the English throne; and eagerly wished the arrival of Pole, whom rumour described as an enemy to the Spanish match, and who was believed to possess considerable influence over the royal mind.[50] But their expectations were disappointed by the policy of their adversaries; who predicted to Mary that the presence of a papal legate would prove the signal of a religious war; and at the same time alarmed the emperor with the notion that Pole was in reality a competitor with Philip for the hand of their sovereign.[51] The former wrote to the cardinal not to venture nearer than Brussels; the latter commissioned Mendoza to stop him in the heart of Germany. At the instance of that messenger he returned to Dillinghen on the Danube; where he received an order from the pontiff to suspend the prosecution of his journey, till he should receive further instructions.[52]

Intrigues of Noailles.

It was a more difficult task to detect and defeat the intrigues of Noailles, the French ambassador. That minister, urged by his antipathy to the Spanish cause, hesitated not to disobey the commands of his sovereign,[53] and to abuse

[50] Y est il plus demandé que je n'eusse jamais pensé, le desirans mainctenant tant les protestants que catholiques. Noailles, 271.

[51] Noailles, 244. Griffet, xviii. [52] Pallavicino, ii. 403.

[53] Je vous prie, Mons. de Noailles, comme ja je vous ay escript,

CHAP. II.

the privileges of his office. He connected himself with Courteney, with the leaders of the protestants, and with the discontented of every description: he admitted them to midnight conferences in his house; he advised them to draw the sword for the protection of their liberties; he raised their hopes with the prospects of aid from France; and he sought by statements, often false, always exaggerated, to draw from Henry himself a public manifestation of his hostility to the intended marriage.[54]

Address to the queen. Oct. 30.

The commons at the commencement of the second session, had been induced to vote an address to the queen, in which they prayed her to marry, that she might raise up successors to the throne, but to select her husband not from any foreign family, but from the nobility of her own realm. Noailles, who in his dispatches predicted the most beneficial result from this measure, took to himself the whole of the merit.[55]

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fermer du tout les oreilles à tous ces gens passionez, qui vous mettent partis en avant. The king to Noailles, Nov. 9th, p. 249. I suspect, however, that this was written merely for the purpose of being shewn to the queen, if events should render it necessary for the exculpation of Henry. For that prince, on Jan. 26, orders him to do exactly the contrary. Il fauldra conforter soulz main les conducteurs des entreprises que scavez, le plus dextrement que faire se pourra: et s'eslargir plus ouvertment et franchement parler avecques eulx que n'avez encores fait: en maniere qu'ilz mettent la main a l'œuvre, iii. 36.

[54] This is evident from many of his dispatches, p. 228. 302.

[55] Noailles, ii. 233. The emperor also attributed the address to Gardiner, and therefore wrote to Renard, puisque vous cognois-

CHAP. II.

Mary, on the other hand, attributed it to the secret influence of Gardiner; who, having been outnumbered in the cabinet, sought to fortify himself with the aid of the commons. But the queen had inherited the resolution or obstinacy of her father. Opposition might strengthen, it could not shake her purpose. She declared that she would prove a match for all the cunning of the chancellor;[56] and, sending the very same night for the imperial ambassador, bade him follow her into her private oratory: where, on her knees at the foot of the altar, and before the sacrament, she first recited the hymn, Veni creator spiritus; and then called God to witness that she pledged her faith to Philip, prince of Spain, and while she lived, would never take any other man for her husband.[57]

Oct. 30.

Courteney conspires against her.

Though this rash and uncalled for promise was kept a profound secret, the subsequent language of the queen proved to the courtiers that she had taken her final resolution. The young earl of Devonshire, fallen from his hopes, abandoned himself to the guidance of his interested advisers. He was under the strongest obligations to Mary. She had liberated him from the prison to which he had been confined from his

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sez les desseigns du chancellier tendre à continuer sa pratique pour Courtenay, tant plus est il requis, que soyez soigneux à la contreminer, et lui gagner, si faire se peult, la volonté. Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 89.

[56] Giffet, xxviii.

[57] Ibid. xx.

CHAP. II.

infancy by the jealousy of her father and brother: she had restored him to the forfeited honours and property of his family: and she had constantly treated him with distinction above all the nobility at her court. Inexperience may be pleaded in extenuation of his fault: but, if gratitude be a duty, he ought to have been the last person to engage in a conspiracy against his benefactress. Yet he listened to those who called themselves his friends, and urged him to the most criminal attempts. They proposed to commence with the murder of Arundel and Paget, the most powerful among the partisans of Philip. Perhaps, if *they* were removed, fear or persuasion might induce Mary to accept the offer of Courtency. Should she remain obstinate, he might, in defiance of her authority, marry Elizabeth, and repair with her to Devonshire and Cornwall, where the inhabitants were devoted to his family: and he would find the duke of Suffolk, the earl of Pembroke, many other lords, and every naval and military adventurer ready to join his standard.[58] But the discipline of the Tower was not calculated to impart to the mind that energy of character, that intrepidity in the hour of trial, which becomes a conspirator. Courteney had issued from his prison timid and cautious: though his ambition might applaud the scheme

Nov. 9.

[58] Noailles, ii. 246. 254.

CHAP. II.

of his friends, he had not the courage to execute it; and a new plan was devised, that he should take the horses from the royal stables at Greenwich, as he was in the habit of doing for his pleasure, should ride to an appointed place, embark in a vessel lying in the river, and cross the sea to France; that the same night his adherents should assassinate Arundel and Paget, and hasten to Devonshire: and that the earl should rejoin them in that county as soon as circumstances might require.[59] But Noailles, aware that the flight of Courteney would compromise his sovereign, opposed the project on the pretence that the moment he left the shores of England, he might bid adieu to the English crown. Other plans were suggested and discussed: but the timidity of the earl checked the eagerness of his advisers: he gladly took hold of some circumstances to conceive new expectations of the royal favour, and prevailed on his friends to suspend their efforts, till they were better apprized of the final determination of Mary.[60].

Nov. 17.

Nov. 24.

In the beginning of November the queen had suffered much from a malady to which she was annually subject; after her recovery it was

Queen answers the address.

[59] Noailles, ii. 258. [60] Id. 271. On Dec. 1, Noailles informs his court, that though Elizabeth and Courteney are proper instruments to cause a rising, there is reason to suspect that nothing will be done on account of Courteney's timidity; who probably will let himself be taken before he will act; comme font ordinairement les Anglois, qui ne scavent jamais fuyr leur malheur, ny prevenir le peril de leur vie. Id. 289.

CHAP. II.

believed that she continued to feign indisposition, for the purpose of postponing the unpleasant task imposed on her by the address of the commons. But in a few days she sent for the lower house: the speaker read the address; and when it was expected that the chancellor, according to custom, would answer in her name, she herself replied: that for their expressions of loyalty, and their desire that the issue of her body might succeed her on the throne, she sincerely thanked them: but in as much as they pretended to limit her in the choice of a husband, she thanked them not. The marriages of her predecessors had always been free; nor would she surrender a privilege which they had enjoyed. If it was a subject that interested the commons, it was one that interested her still more; and she would be careful in her choice, not only to provide for her own happiness, but, which was equally dear to her, for the happiness of her people. This answer was highly applauded by all present.[61]

Nov. 17.

In the mean time Elizabeth remained at court, watched by the imperialists, and caressed by their opponents; one day, terrified by the fear of a prison, and the next day flattered with

[61] Noailles, 269. Griffet, xxviii. It has been groundlessly supposed that the queen found the commons refractory, and on that account dissolved the parliament. In her letter to Pole, of Nov. 15, Mary tells him that the session could not be prolonged, quæ latius prorogari non possunt; but that she would call another parliament in three months. Ep. Pol. iv. 119.

the prospect of a crown. No pains were spared to create dissension between the royal sisters; to awaken jealousy in the one, alarm and resentment in the other. But Elizabeth explained away the charges against her, and Mary, by her conduct, belied the predictions of her enemies.[62] If she detained her sister at court till the dissolution of the parliament, she treated her with kindness and distinction; and at her departure dismissed her with marks of affection, and a present of two sets of large and valuable pearls.[63] Dec. 6.

Imperial ambassadors to conclude the treaty.

The emperor, at the suggestion of Paget, had written to six of the lords of the council, respecting the marriage of the queen: and Gardiner, convinced at length that to oppose was fruitless, consented to negociate the treaty on such terms as he deemed requisite to secure the rights and liberties of the nation. The counts of Egmont and Lalain, the lord of Courrieres, and the sieur de Nigry, arrived as ambassadors extraordinary, and were admitted to an audience in presence of the whole court. When they offered to Mary the prince of Spain for her husband, she replied, that it became not a female to speak in public

1534. Jan. 2.

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[62] Elizabeth was said to have received nocturnal visits from Noailles, which she convinced Mary to be false. Noailles, 309. On the other hand, she was told that Mary meant to declare her a bastard by act of parliament; and she was supposed to be in disgrace, because the queen *sometimes* gave the precedence in company to the countess of Lennox and the dutchess of Suffolk, the representatives of her aunts the Scottish and French queens. Noailles, 234. 273.

[63] Ibid. 309.

CHAP. II.

on so delicate a subject as her own marriage; they were at liberty to confer with her ministers who would make known her intentions; but this she would have them to bear in mind (fixing at the same time her eyes on the ring on her finger) that her realm was her first husband, and that no consideration should induce her to violate that faith, which she had pledged at the time of her coronation.[64]

The terms which had been already discussed between the chancellor and the resident ambassador, were speedily settled; and it was stipu-
Jan. 12. lated that immediately on the marriage Philip and Mary should reciprocally assume the styles and titles of their respective dominions: that he should aid the queen in the government of the realm, saving its laws, rights, privileges, and customs, and preserving to her the full and free disposal of all benefices, offices, lands, revenues, and fruits, which should not be granted to any but native subjects of the realm: that he should settle on her a jointure of 60,000 pounds, secured on landed property in Spain and the Netherlands; that the issue by this marriage should succeed according to law to England, and the teritories belonging to the emperor in Burgundy and the Low Countries, and (failing don Carlos, the son of Philip, and the issue of don Carlos) to the kingdoms of Spain, Lom-

[64] Griffet, xxx.

bardy, and the two Sicilies; and that Philip should promise upon oath to maintain all orders of men in their rights and privileges, to exclude all foreigners from office in his court; not to carry the queen abroad without her previous request, nor any of her children without the consent of the nobility; not to claim any right to the succession if he should survive his consort; not to take from the kingdom ships, ammunition, or jewels belonging to the crown; and lastly, not to engage the nation in the war between his father and the French monarch, but to preserve, as much as in him lay, the peace between England and France.[65]

As soon as the treaty was signed, the chancellor explained the articles to the lord mayor and aldermen; and displayed in an eloquent discourse, the many and valuable benefits which he anticipated from an union between their sovereign and a prince, the apparent heir to so many rich and powerful territories. The death of the queen without issue prevented the accomplishment of his predictions; but he deserves praise for the solicitude with which he guarded the liberties of the nation against the possible attempts of a foreign prince on the throne: and to his honour it may be remarked, that when Elizabeth thought of marrying the duke of Anjou, she ordered her ministers to take this

Jan. 14.

[65] Rym. xv. 377—381.

CHAP. II.

treaty negociated by Gardiner, for the model of their own.

The official annunciation of the marriage provoked its opponents to speak and act with greater freedom. They circulated the most incredible tales, and employed every artifice to kindle and inflame the public discontent. One day it was reported that Edward was still alive; the next, that an army of 8000 imperialists was coming to take possession of the ports, the Tower, and the fleet: the private character of Philip, and the national character of the Spaniards, were loaded with the imputation of every vice which could disgrace a prince or a people: of Mary herself it was said, that at her accession she had promised to make no change in religion, and to marry no foreigner; and that now, as she had broken her faith, she had forfeited her right to the crown. Among the leading conspirators some advised an immediate rising: the more prudent objected the severity of the weather, the impassable state of the roads, and the difficulty of collecting their followers, or of acting in
Jan. 15. concert in the midst of winter. They finally determined to wait for the arrival of Philip, who was expected in the spring; at the first news of his approach to arm and oppose his landing; to marry Courteney to the lady Elizabeth; to place them under the protection of the natives of Devonshire, and to proclaim them king and queen of England. Of any previous affection

between the parties there appears no evidence; but Elizabeth had been taught that this marriage was her only resource against the suspicions of Mary and the malice of Philip: and the disappointment of Courteney induced him to consent to a measure which would bring the crown once more within his grasp. Noailles now flattered himself that he should infallibly reap the fruit of his intrigues, if he could only keep for a few days the weak and vacillating mind of the earl firm to his engagements.[66] The representations of the ambassador so wrought on the king of France that he authorized him to give the conspirators hope of assistance, sent him the paltry sum of 5000 crowns for the relief of the more needy, and ordered the governors of his ports, and the officers of his navy, to give them such aid and countenance, as might not be deemed an open infraction of the peace between the two countries.[67] Jan. 26.

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[66] Noailles, iii. 16, 17, 18. 22, 23. Ladicte dame Elizabeth est on peyne d'estre de si pres esclairée: ce qui n'est faict sans quelque raison: car je vous puis asseurer, sire, qu'elle desire fort de se mettre hors de tutelle; et a ce que j'entends, il ne tiendra que au milord de Courteney qu'il ne l'epouse, et qu'elle ne le suive jusques au pays de Dampchier (Devonshire),....ou ils seroient pour avoir une bonne part a ceste couronne....Mais le Malheur est tel que ledict de Courteney est en si grand craincte, qu'il n'ose rien entrependre. Je ne veois moyen qui soit pour l'empeschier sinon la faulte de cueur. ii. 310.

[67] Id. iii. 39. This was in consequence of a dispatch, in which Noailles informed him that it was the plan of the conspirarors to proclaim Courteney and Elizabeth; (ils deliberent d'eslever pour

CHAP. II.

Rising of the conspirators.

The council, however, was not inattentive to the intrigues of the ambassador, or the designs of the factions. Paget had sent to admonish Elizabeth of her duty to the queen,[68] and Gardiner, in a private conference with Courteney, extracted the whole secret from his fears or

Jan. 21.

simplicity.[69] The next day the conspirators learned that they had been betrayed: yet, surprised and unprepared as they were, they resolved to bid defiance to the royal authority: and Thomas, brother to the duke of Suffolk, exclaimed, that he would put himself in the place of Courteney, and stake his head against the crown.[70] They immediately departed, the duke to arm his tenants in Warwickshire, sir James Croft to raise the borderers of Wales, and sir Thomas Wyat to put himself at the head of the discontented in Kent. Courteney remained near the queen, making a parade of his

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leur roy et royne milord de Courteney, et madame Elizabeth, iii. 23;) and that they solicited for the purpose pecuniary aid from France. See the passage in the original, which is omitted in the printed copies, MSS. i. 273.

[68] It was occasioned by information given by the officers of her household, that a stranger, calling himself a pastor of the French church, had, during the last month, had several conferences with her. It was suspected that he was an agent of the disaffected: and a motion was made, to confine the princess for greater security. But the queen would not listen to it. Griffet, xxv.

[69] Noailles, iii. 31. 43.

[70] Qu'il est deliberé de tenir son lieu, qu'il fault qu'il soit roy ou pendu, Noailles, iii. 48. As late as January 26, Noailles writes: toutes choses, graces a Dieu, sont en bon chemin: et bientost j'espere que vous, sire, en aurez d'aultres nouvelles, iii. 45.

loyalty, but mistrusted and despised. It was the wish of the conspirators, that Elizabeth should retire from the vicinity of the metropolis to Dunnington castle. A letter to her, from Wyat, recommending an immediate removal, was intercepted by the council; and Mary sent her an order to return to the court, under the pretence that, at Dunnington, she would be unprotected, and at the mercy of the insurgents. It was in vain that Croft, in person, urged the recommendation of Wyat. She neither followed his advice, nor obeyed the order of the queen, but alleging indisposition, remained at Ashridge, where, shutting herself up in her chamber, she ordered her servants to fortify the house, and called upon her friends to arm in her defence.[71]

Jan. 25.

Jan. 26.

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[71] At the departure of the conspirators Elizabeth left her residence for Ashridge, thirty miles father off. Noailles, iii. 44. Here Croft exhorted her to go on to Dunnington. Fox, iii. 794. Wyat's intercepted letter, to the same effect was acknowledged by him at his tryal. Howell's State Trials, i. 863. Mary's letter, to recal her to London, is in Strype, iii. 83. and Hearne, 154. That Elizabeth fortified her house at Ashridge, and assembled armed men, is stated by Noailles, January 26, ou, comme on dict, se faict desja assemblée de gens à sa devotion, iii. 44. and by Renard, in his letter to the emperor: Elizabeth faisoit gens de guerre——elle se fortifie en sa maison, ou elle est malade, Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 287. 289. She was afterwards examined respecting her reasons for wishing to go to Dunnington: at first she affected not to know that she had such a house, or that she had ever spoken with any one on the subject: but when sir James Croft was produced before her, she said: "I "do remember that master Hobby and mine officers, and you, sir "James, had such talk: but what is that to the purpose, but that "I may go to mine own houses at all times." Sir James, after expressing his sorrow to be a witness against her, falling on his knees,

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In calculating the probability of success, the conspirators had been misled by the late revolution. With the exception of the duke of Suffolk and his brothers, they reckoned among them no individual of illustrious name or extensive influence: but they had persuaded themselves, that the nation unanimously condemned the Spanish match, and that, as public opinion had recently driven Jane, so it would now with equal facility, drive Mary from the throne. The experience of a few days dispelled the illusion. 1°. The men of Devonshire, on whose attachment to the house of Courteney so much reliance had been placed, were the first to undeceive them. Sir Peter Carew, with Gibbs, and Champernham, the appointed leaders having waited in vain for the arrival of the recreant earl, assembled the citizens of Exeter, and proposed to them to sign an address to the queen. It stated that the object of the Spaniards, in coming to England, was to oppress the natives, to live at free quarters, and to violate the honour of the females: that every Englishman was ready to sacrifice his life before he would submit to such

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said, "I take God to record, before all your honours, I do not know "any thing of that crime that you have laid to my charge." Fox, iii. 794. And yet, Noailles, in his dispatch of January 23, reckons him among the chiefs, "les entrepreneurs," who were not dispirited, though their secret had been betrayed. Noailles, iii. 31. The reader must excuse the length and frequency of these notes. They are necessary to support a narrative, which might otherwise be attributed to the imagination or the partiality of the writer.

tyranny: and that they had, therefore, taken up arms to resist the landing of the foreigners, if they should approach the western coast. But the people shewed no disposition to comply: and, on the arrival of the earl of Bedford, a few were apprehended; the rest sought an asylum in France. 2°. Though sir James Croft reached his estates on the borders of Wales, he was closely followed, and, before he could raise his tenants, was made prisoner in his bed. 3°. The duke of Suffolk was equally unfortunate. Of his disaffection no suspicion had been entertained. Instead of suffering with Northumberland on the scaffold, he had been permitted after a detention of only three days in the Tower to retire to his own house: the clemency of the queen had preserved him from the forfeiture of his property and honours; his dutchess had been received at court with a distinction which excited the jealousy of Elizabeth: and Suffolk himself had given to Mary repeated assurances of his attachment to her person, and of his approbation of her marriage. But, under these appearances, he concealed far different sentiments. A precisian in point of religion, a disciple of the most stern and uncomprising among the reformed teachers, he deemed it a duty to risk his life, and the fortune of his family, in the support of the new doctrines. With his bothers, the lords John and Thomas Gray, and fifty followers, he left Shene for his estates in

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Warwickshire. To me, it seems uncertain whether he meant, with the other conspirators, to set up the lady Elizabeth as the competitor of Mary, or to revive the claim of his daughter, the lady Jane.[72] In the towns through which he passed, he called on the inhabitants to rise, like their brethren in the south, and to arm in defence of their liberties, which had been betrayed to the Spaniards. They listened with apathy to his eloquence, and refused the money which he scattered among them; the earl of Huntingdon, once his fellow-prisoner in the Tower, pursued him, by command of the queen: and a trifling skirmish in the neighbourhood of Coventry, convinced him that he was no match for the forces of his adversary. He bade his followers reserve themselves for a more favourable opportunity: and trusted himself to the fidelity of a tenant, of the name of Underwood, who, through the fear of punishment, or the hope of reward, betrayed him to his pursuers. In less than a fortnight from his departure, he was an inmate of the Tower.[73]

Jan 25.

Wyat in Kent.

It was in Kent only that the insurrection assumed a formidable appearance, under the direction of sir Thomas Wyat. If we may be-

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[72] The last is asserted by Thuanus, tom. i. par. ii. p. 449. Stow, 622. Heylin, 165—203. I am inclined to doubt it, because Noailles describes his brother as a partisan of the lady Elizabeth. Noailles, iii. 48.

[73] Griffet, xxxii. Lodge, i. 187. Stow, 618. Hollings. 1094, 1095.

lieve his own assertion, he ought not to be charged with the origin of the conspiracy. It was formed without his knowledge, and was first communicated to him by the earl of Devonshire: but he engaged in it with cheerfulness, under the persuasion that the marriage of the queen with Philip would be followed by the death of the lady Elizabeth, and by the subversion of the national liberties. By the apostacy of Courteney, he became one of the principals in the insurrection: and while his associates, by their presumption and weakness, proved themselves unequal to the attempt, he excited the applause of his very adversaries, by the secrecy and address with which he organized the rising, and by the spirit and perseverance with which he conducted the enterprise.[74] The moment he drew the sword, fifteen hundred armed men assembled around him: while five thousand others remained at their homes, ready, at the first toll of the alarum-bell, to crowd to his standard. He fixed his head quarters in the old and ruinous castle of Rochester: a squadron of five sail, in the Thames, under his secret associate Winter, supplied him with cannon and ammunition: and batteries were erected to command the passage of the bridge, and the opposite bank of the river. Yet fortune did not appear to favour his first attempts. Sir Robert Southwell dispersed a party

Jan. 24.

[74] Howell's State Trials, i. Noailles calls Wyat, ung gentilhomme le plus vaillant, et asseuré de quoy j'aye jamais ouy parler, iii. 59.

CHAP. II.

of insurgents under Knevet: the lord Abergavenny defeated a large reinforcement led by Isley, another of the conspirators: and the citizens of Canterbury rejected his entreaties, and derided his threats. It required all his address to keep his followers together. Though he boasted of the succours which he daily expected from France, though he circulated reports of successful risings in other parts of the country, the leading insurgents began to waver: many sent to the council offers to return to their duty, on condition of pardon: and there is reason to believe, that the main force under Wyat would have dissolved of itself, had it been suffered to remain a few days longer in a state of inactivity.[75]

Defeats the royalists.

But the duke of Norfolk had already marched from London, with a detachment of guards, under the command of sir Henry Jerningham.

Jan. 26.

He was immediately followed by 500 Londoners, led by captain Bret, and was afterwards joined by the sheriff of Kent with the bands of the county. This force was far inferior in number to the enemy; and, what was of more disastrous consequence, some of its leaders were in secret league with Wyat. The duke having in vain made an offer of pardon, ordered the bridge to

Jan. 29.

be forced. The troops were already in motion, when Bret, who led the van, halted his column,

[75] Noailles, iii. 46, 47. Lodge, i. 187. Cont. of Fabian, 558. Hollings, 1093. 1095.

and raising his sword, exclaimed, "Masters, we "are going to fight in an unholy quarrel against "our friends and countrymen, who seek only to "preserve us from the dominion of foreigners. "Wherefore I think that no English heart should "oppose them, and am resolved for my own "part to shed my blood in the cause of this "worthy captain, master Wyat." This address was seconded by Brian Fitzwilliam: shouts of "a Wyat, a Wyat," burst from the ranks: and the Londoners, instead of advancing against the rebels, faced about to oppose the royalists. At that moment Wyat himself joined them at the head of his cavalry; and the duke, with his principal officers, apprehending a general defection, fled towards Gravesend. Seven pieces of artillery fell into the hands of the insurgents: their ranks were recruited from the deserters; and the whole body confident of victory, began their march in the direction of London.[76]

This unexpected result revealed to the queen the alarming secret that the conspiracy had pushed its branches into the very heart of the metropolis. Every precaution was immediately taken for the security of the court, the Tower and the city: the bridges for fifteen miles were

[76] Noailles, the day before the event, informed his sovereign of the intended desertion of the officers of the Londoners. De ceux la mesme, selon que le bruict en court, les principaulx capitaines des gens de pied se tourneront vers icelles, quand ce viendra au besoign, iii. 47.

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broken down, and the boats secured on the opposite bank of the river: the neighbouring peers received orders to raise their tenantry, and
Jan. 30. hasten to the protection of the royal person; and a reward of 100*l.* per annum in land was offered for the apprehension of Wyat. That chieftain now reckoned fifteen thousand men under his standard. He had already reached Deptford;
Feb. 1. and a message from the ministers, inquiring into the extent of his demands, betrayed their diffidence, and added to his presumption. In the court and the council-room, nothing was to be heard but expressions of mistrust and apprehension: some blamed the precipitancy of Gardiner in the change of religion; some the interested policy of the advisers of the Spanish match; and the imperial ambassadors, with the exception of Renard, fearing for their lives, escaped in some merchant vessels lying in the river.[77] The queen alone appeared firm and collected; she betrayed no symptom of fear, no doubt of the result; she ordered her ministers to provide the means of defence, and undertook to fix, by her confidence and address, the wavering loyalty of the Londoners.[78] The lord mayor had called an ex-

[77] Noailles, iii. 53. Griffet, xxx. iii.

[78] So says Renard, ibid. and a writer among inter Poli epis. Tu, cæteris tam repentino tuo periculo perturbatis, animo ipsa minime fracta ac debilitata es, sed ita te gessisti, &c. tom. v. App. 332. Noailles, on the contrary, says: Je me deliberay en cape de veoir de quel visaige elle et sa compaignie y alloient, que je cogneus estre aussy triste et desplorée qu'ilt se peult penser. iii. 51.

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traordinary meeting of the citizens; and at three in the afternoon, Mary, with the sceptre in her hand, and accompanied by her ladies and officers of state, entered the Guildhall. She was received with every demonstration of respect: and in a firm and dignified tone, complained of the disobedience and insolence of the men of Kent. At first the leaders had condemned her intended marriage with the prince of Spain: now they had betrayed their real design. They demanded the custody of her person, the appointment of her council, and the command of the Tower. Their object was to obtain the exercise of the royal authority, and to abolish the national worship. But she was convinced that her people loved her too well, to surrender her into the hands of rebels. "As for this mar-"riage," she continued, "ye shall understand "that I enterprised not the doing thereof with-"out the advice of all our privy council: nor am "I, I assure ye, so bent to my own will, or so "affectionate, that for my own pleasure I would "choose where I lust, or needs must have a "husband. I have hitherto lived a maid; and "doubt nothing, but with God's grace I am able "to live so still. Certainly, did I think that "this marriage were to the hurt of you my sub-"jects, or to the impeachment of my royal "estate, I would never consent thereunto. And "I promise you, on the word of a queen, that if "it shall not appear to the lords and commons

Queen's speech in the Guildhall. Feb. 2.

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"in parliament, to be for the benefit of the "whole realm, I will never marry while I live. "Wherefore stand fast against these rebels, your "enemies and mine; fear them not, for I assure "ye, I fear them nothing at all: and I will leave "with you my lord Howard and my lord ad- "miral, who will be assistant with the mayor for "your defence." With these words she departed; the hall rang with acclamations; and by the next morning more than twenty thousand men had enrolled their names for the protection of the city.[79]

Progress of Wyat.

That day Wyat entered Southwark. But his followers had dwindled to seven thousand men, and were hourly diminishing. No succours had arrived from France: no insurrection had burst forth in any other county: and the royal army was daily strengthened by reinforcements. The batteries erected on the walls of the Tower compelled him to leave Southwark:[80] but he had by this time arranged a plan with some of the reformers in the city, to surprise Ludgate an hour before sunrise; and for that purpose directed his

Feb. 6.

march towards Kingston. Thirty feet of the bridge had been destroyed: but he swam across

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[79] Hollings. 1096. Noailles, iii. 52. 66. Fox, iii. 25. She spoke with so much ease, that Fox adds, "she seemed to have perfectly "conned it without book." Ibid.

[80] Here his followers had pillaged the house of Gardiner, and destroyed the books in his library, "so that a man might have gone "up to the knees in the leaves of books, cut out and thrown under "foot." Stow, 619.

the river, procured a boat from the bank, and returning, laboured with a few associates at the repairs, while his men refreshed themselves in the town. At eleven at night the insurgents passed the bridge: at Brentford they drove in the advance post of the royalists: but an hour was lost in repairing the carriage of a cannon, and, as it became too late for Wyat to keep his appointment at Ludgate, the chief of his advisers abandoned him in despair. Among these were Poinet, the protestant bishop of Winchester, who now hastened to the continent; and sir George Harper, who rode to St. James's, and announced the approach and expectations of Wyat. He arrived about two hours after midnight: the Feb. 7. palace was instantly filled with alarm: the boldness of the attempt gave birth to reports of treasons in the city and the court: and the ministers, on their knees, particularly the chancellor, conjured the queen to provide for her own safety, by retiring into the Tower. But Mary scorned the timidity of her advisers: from the earl of Pembroke and lord Clinton she received assurances that they would do their duty: and in return she announced her fixed determination to remain at her post. In a council of war it was decided to place a strong force at Ludgate, to permit the advance of Wyat, and then to press on him from every quarter, and to enclose him like a wild beast in the toils.[81]

[81] Griffet, xxxv. Cum tui te hortando et obsecrando urgere non desisterent, ut in arcem te reciperes, ne tum quidem ullius timoris

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He is made prisoner.

At four in the morning the drum beat to arms: and in a few hours the royalists under Pembroke and Clinton amounted to ten thousand infantry and fifteen hundred cavalry. The hill opposite St. James's was occupied with a battery of cannon, and a strong squadron of horse: lower down, and nearer to Charing Cross, were posted two divisions of infantry; and several smaller parties were detached in different points in the vicinity. About nine, Wyat reached Hyde Park corner. Many of his followers had shrunk away in the darkness of the night: the rest were appalled at the sight of the formidable array before their eyes. But their leader saw that to recede must be his ruin: he still relied on the co-operation of the conspirators and reformers in the city: and after a short cannonade seizing a standard, rushed forward to charge the cavalry. They opened; allowed three or four hundred men to pass; and closing, cut off the communication between them and the main body. The insurgents, separated from their leader, did not long sustain the unequal contest: about one hundred were killed, great numbers wounded, and four hundred made prisoners. Wyat paid no attention to the battle

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signum dedisti. Pol. ep. tom. v. App. 332. "It was more than "marvel to see that day the invincible heart and constancy of the "queen." Hollings. 1098. Renard says that she shewed, tel cueur qu'elle dit ne se vouloir retirer, si le comte de Pembroke et Clinton vouloient faire leur devoir, et incontinent envoya devers eux, qui la suppliarent ne bouger. Renard's MSS. iii. 287.

which raged behind his back. Intent on his purpose, he hastened through Piccadilly, insulted the gates of the palace, and proceeded towards the city. No molestation was offered by the armed bands stationed on each side of the street. At Ludgate he knocked, and demanded admittance, "for the queen had granted "all his petitions."—"Avaunt, traitor!" exclaimed from the gallery the lord William Howard, "thou shalt have no entrance here." Disappointed and confounded, he retraced his steps, till he came opposite the inn called the Bel Savage. There he halted a few minutes. To the spectators he seemed absorbed in thought: but he was quickly aroused by the shouts of the combatants, and with forty companions continued to fight his way back, till he reached Temple Bar. He found it occupied by a strong detachment of horse: whatever way he turned, fresh bodies of royalists poured upon him: and Norroy king at arms advancing, exhorted him to spare the blood of his friends, and to yield himself a prisoner. After a moment's pause he threw away his sword, and surrendered to sir Maurice Berkely, who carried him first to the court, and thence to the Tower. There, in the course of a few hours, he was rejoined by the chief of the surviving conspirators. The nobility and gentry crowded to St. James's to offer their congratulations to the queen; who thanked them in warm terms for their loyalty and cou-

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rage. Two were excepted, Courteney and the young earl of Worcester; who, on the first advance of the enemy, through timidity or disaffection, had turned the heads of their horses and fled, exclaiming that all was lost.[82]

Execution of Jane Gray and her husband.

At the termination of the former conspiracy, the queen had permitted but three persons to be put to death,—an instance of clemency, considering all the circumstances, not perhaps to be paralleled in the history of those ages. But the policy of her conduct had been severely arrainged both by the emperor and some of her own counsellors. Impunity, they argued, would encourage the factious to a repetition of their offence; men ought to be taught by the punishment of the guilty, that if they presume to brave the authority of the sovereign, it must be at the peril of their lives and fortunes. Mary now began to admit the truth of these maxims; she condemned her former lenity as the cause of the recent insurrection; and while her mind was still agitated with the remembrance of her danger, was induced to sign, on the morrow of

Feb. 8.

the action at Temple Bar, a warrant for the execution of "Guilford Dudley and his wife," at the expiration of three days. On the fatal

[82] Stow, 620—622. Strype, iii. 89. Noailles, iii. 59. 64—69. Courteney et le Compte d'Orcestre pour leur premiere guerre se retirarent arriere contre la cour, sans coup frapper, et dirent que tout etoit perdu, que la victoire etoit aux enemys .... Il (Courtenay) montra ce qu'il avoit dans le cueur, dont ladite dame est fort irritée. Renard's MSS. iii. 289.

morning, permission was granted them to take a last farewell; but Jane refused the indulgence, saying, that in a few hours they should meet in heaven. From the window of her cell she saw her husband led to execution, and beheld his bleeding corpse brought back to the chapel. *He* had been beheaded on Tower-hill, in sight of an immense multitude; *she*, on account of her royal descent, was spared the ignominy of a public execution. With a firm step and cheerful countenance she mounted the scaffold, which had been erected on the green within the Tower: acknowledged in a few words to the spectators her crime in having consented to the treason of Northumberland, though she was not one of the original conspirators: expressed her confidence of being saved through the sole merits of Christ; and having repeated a psalm with Feckenham, formerly abbot of Westminster, laid her head on the block. At one stroke it was severed from the body.[83] Her life had before been spared as a pledge for the loyalty of the house of Suffolk. That pledge was indeed forfeited by the rebellion of the duke, but it would perhaps have been to the honour of Mary, if she

Feb. 12.

[83] Fox iii. 29. Hollings. 1099. Noailles, iii. 125. Fox has published several letters said to be the productions of this unfortunate lady. They breathe a contempt of death, sublime sentiments of piety, and a profound hatred of the ancient creed, expressed in the most bitter language against its professors. It is, however, difficult to believe them the compositions of a young woman of seventeen.

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had overlooked the provocation, and refused to visit on the daughter the guilt of the father. Her youth ought to have pleaded most powerfully in her favour: and if it were feared that she would again be set up by the factious as a competitor with her sovereign, the danger might certainly have been removed by some expedient less cruel than the infliction of death.

Other executions.

The chief of the conspirators had been conveyed to the Tower, to abide their trials: against the common men, who had been taken in the field, it was determined to proceed by martial law. About fifty of those who had deserted

Feb. 14, 15.

with Bret, were hanged in different parts of the metropolis: half a dozen suffered in Kent; and the remainder, amounting to four hundred, were led to the palace with halters round their necks.

Feb. 20.

Mary appeared at a balcony, pronounced their pardon, and bade them return in peace to their homes.[84]

Most of the prisoners in the Tower, on the expression of their sorrow, obtained their discharge. Of six who were brought to the bar, sir Nicholas Throckmorton alone pleaded his cause with success. There can be little doubt that he was deeply engaged in the conspiracy: but he claimed the benefit of the recent statute,

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[84] Noailles and Renard represent the sufferers as more numerous; but our own writers, who could not be mistaken, agree in the number mentioned in the text.

abolishing all treasons created since the reign of Edward III.; contended, against the decision of the judges, that words could not constitute an overt act; and convinced the jury that no evidence had been adduced to shew that he had been an active accomplice of the rebels. He saved his life: but a verdict, returned in opposition to the declared opinion of the bench, was in those days a novelty, which drew the vengeance of the court on the jurors. All were committed. Some made their submission: the others were fined and discharged.[85]

Of the five conspirators who had received judgment, Croft obtained a pardon. 1°. The duke of Suffolk fell unpitied. His ingratitude to the queen, his disregard of his daughter's safety, and his meanness in seeking to purchase forgiveness by the accusation of others, had sharpened the public indignation against him. 2°. He was followed to the block by his brother the lord Thomas Gray, a noblemen of equal ambition and greater courage, whose influence over the duke was unbounded, and who was believed to have drawn him into this unfortunate enterprise. 3°. William Thomas had been private secretary to Edward VI. Discontent and fanaticism had urged him to the most daring attempts: he was convicted of a design to murder the queen; and, though he stabbed himself

Feb. 23.

[85] Hollings. 1126. State trials, i. 869—900.

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in his prison, expired on the scaffold. 4°. To these must be added the great supporter of the insurrection, sir Thomas Wyat; but his weak and wavering conduct in the Tower provoked a suspicion that he had little claim to that firmness of mind for which he had before obtained credit. These executions have induced some writers to charge Mary with unnecessary cruelty; perhaps those who compare her with her contemporaries in similar circumstances, will hesitate to subscribe to that opinion. If, on this occasion, sixty of the insurgents were sacrificed to her justice or resentment, we shall find in the history of the next reign that, after a rebellion of a less formidable aspect, some hundreds of victims were required to appease the offended majesty of Elizabeth.[86]

Arrest of Elizabeth and Courteney.

Both that princess and the earl of Devonshire, as the reader will recollect, had, some weeks before, been apprized of the design of the conspirators, and had given to it a tacit, if not a verbal assent. Of this it is probable that Mary knew nothing. But the refusal of the former to join her sister during the insurrection, and the flight of the latter at the very commencement of the conflict, had awakened suspicion: and that suspicion was converted almost into certainty by three intercepted dispatches of

[86] If we look at the conduct of the government after the rebellions of 1715 and 1745, we shall not find that the praise of superior lenity is due to more modern times.

the French ambassador, written in the month of January.[87] Courteney was apprehended at the house of the earl of Suffolk, and committed to the Tower; and Hastings, Southwell, and Cornwallis, members of the council, received a commission to repair to Ashridge, and conduct Elizabeth to the court. She received them in bed, complaining of a painful and dangerous malady: but two physicians having attested that she was able to travel, she reluctantly accompanied them by short stages to London, and made her entrance, not as a prisoner, but in state, riding in a litter, and attended by two hundred gentlemen in scarlet. She appeared pale and bloated, and reports were even circulated that she had been poisoned, and could not recover; but within a week she was well, and demanded an audience of the queen. An answer was returned, that she must first establish her innocence.[88]

Evidence against them.

By this time a considerable mass of presumptive evidence both against the princess and against Courteney had been collected from intercepted letters, and from the depositions of

[87] Gardiner, at the very commencement of the insurrection had intercepted these dispatches, dated on the 26th, 28th, and 30th of January. They were written in cipher, the secret of which the ambassador flattered himself would not be discovered. Noailles, 91. 133, 134. It appears, however, from Renard's letters to the emperor, that Noailles was deceived. Renard's MSS. iii. 286. Griffet, xxxvii.

[88] Noailles, 88. 100. Griffet, xxxvii. Fox, 792. Strype, iii. 150.

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the prisoners in the Tower. The council was in possession of two notes sent by Wyat to Elizabeth: the first advising her to remove to Dunnington, the second informing her of his victorious entry into Southwark; the three dispatches of the French ambassador had been deciphered, and had disclosed the plans of the conspirators in her favour: and a most important letter, or copy of a letter, supposed to have been written by her to the king of France, had by some unknown means found its way into the hands of the queen. The duke of Suffolk declared that the object of the insurrection was the dethronement of Mary, and the succession of Elizabeth. William Thomas added, that it was resolved to put the queen immediately to death. Wyat acknowledged that he had written more than once to the princess: and, on his confrontation with Courteney, charged that nobleman with having first suggested the insurrection, and with being as real a traitor as himself. Croft confessed that he had solicited Elizabeth to retire to Dunnington: lord Russel that he had privately conveyed to her letters from Wyat: and another prisoner that he had been privy to a correspondence between Courteney and Carew, after the rising in Devonshire.[89] Though both declared their innocence, Gardiner maintained in the council that the evidence

[89] Renard's MSS. iii. fol. 287. Griffet, xxxvii. xxxix. 89. He is confirmed by Noailles, iii, 120. 141. and by Fox, 794. See note 71.

would justify their imprisonment in the Tower: the queen asked each lord in succession to take upon himself the custody of her sister in his own house: and, when all had declined the dangerous and ungracious office, a warrant was made out for her committal. Elizabeth received the intelligence with terror; she insisted on seeing the queen; she maintained with oaths and curses that she had never received any letter from Wyat, had never written to the king of France, nor ever consented to any device which might endanger the life or crown of her sovereign. But she was compelled to submit, and took possession of her cell, under the conviction, that in a few days she would have to suffer the fate of her mother.[90]

They are saved by Gardiner.

The emperor from Brussels, and the imperial faction in the council, strongly urged the expediency of bringing her to trial and execution: she was saved by the firmness of one, who has been often, but falsely, described as thirsting for her blood. Gardiner, while he pleaded the cause

[90] "To this present hower, " she says, " I protest afore God (who " shall juge my truethe, whatsoever malice shall devise) that I " never practised, conciled, nor consented to any thinge, that " might be prejudicial to your parson any way, or dangerous to " the state by any mene.—As for the traitor Wyat, he might para- " ventur writ me a lettar: but on my faithe I never received any " from him; and as for the copie of my lettar sent to the French " kinge, I pray God confound me eternally, if ever I sent him " word, message, token, or lettar by any menes;—and to this my " trueth I wil stand in to my dethe." Neve on Philips, App. No. II.

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of Elizabeth and Courteney, acknowledged that both had been privy to the design of the rebels; that they would willingly have accepted the crown, had the insurrection proved successful; and that they both deserved punishment for the treason which they had cherished in their hearts: but he contended that they had not implicated themselves by any overt act; and that there was no sufficient evidence to include them within the letter of the law. His enemies grasped at the opportunity to ruin him in the estimation of
May 17. the queen. They objected that he still retained his former partiality for Courteney and his adherents: that he had secretly sent instructions to the earl to prepare him for examination: and that he had refused to hear witnesses, who would have clearly established the guilt, both of that nobleman and of Elizabeth. Though Mary was irritated against the two prisoners, she was
May 18. willing to listen to reason. Gardiner convinced her that he had been faithful in the discharge of his duty, and was correct in his exposition of the law: she compelled Paget, his chief adversary, to ask him pardon: and the next day Elizabeth
May 19. was released from the Tower.[91] The imperial

[91] Noailles had heard of this division in the council. In his letter of the 18th, he foretold the ruin of the chancellor; in that of the 19th, he was compelled to relate his triumph. But being in disgrace with the queen and her ministers, he was unable to discover the cause of the quarrel, which he supposed to be respecting matters of religion. Noailles, iii. 219. 225. The real fact is related by Renard in his dispatches, apud Griffet, xl, xli. xliii.

ambassador, in obedience to his instructions, then suggested that she might be sent to reside in the court at Brussels: but his advice was over-ruled; and the lord Williams of Tame, and sir Henry Bedingfield, conducted her to the palace of Woodstock. A few days later Courteney was transferred from the Tower to Fotheringhay castle.[92] May 28.

[92] When prisoners, to save their own lives, accuse others, their depositions are not, separately, more worthy of credit than the contrary assertions of the accused. On both sides there is the same motive for falsehood. But in the present case the charge against Elizabeth and Courteney is confirmed by several dispatches of Noailles, written in the months of December and January, immediately preceding the rebellion. To his evidence, in his statements to his own sovereign, little objection can be made.—It has, indeed, been said that Wyat, at his death, declared both the prisoners innocent. But a little reflection will show that nothing can be deduced from the words and conduct of Wyat. 1°. He visited Courteney, and remained with him half an hour in his cell. If we believe the sheriffs, he asked Courteney's pardon for having accused him: if we believe lord Chandois, who was also present, he exhorted him to confess his offence. It is plain, that from such contradictory statements, nothing certain can be elicited. 2°. It was rumoured, that on the scaffold, he pronounced both the prisoners innocent. This was reported by Noailles to his court; but two persons who had propagated the same story in the city were put in the pillory, for spreading false intelligence. His words are said to have been: "where it is noised abroad that I should accuse the lady Elizabeth, "and the lord Courteney, it is not so, good people; for I assure "you neither they nor any other now yonder, in hold, was privy of "my rising before I began, as I have declared no less to the "queen's council; and that is most true." It may certainly be true; for he rose unexpectedly, six weeks before the time originally fixed upon. But Dr. Weston immediately said, "mark this, "my masters, that that which he hath shewn to the council of them "in writing, is true." Wyat made no reply. Was not this silence equivalent to an acknowledgment? See Stow, 624.

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Queen's conduct to Noailles.

Another subject of discussion was the conduct to be observed in relation to Noailles, whose clandestine intrigues with the conspirators had been by them betrayed to the council. Renard maintained to the queen, that, by fomenting a rebellion within the realm, he had forfeited the privilege of an ambassador; that he ought to be sent out of England, or put under arrest, till the pleasure of his sovereign was known; and that the king of France should be informed, that if the culprit had been treated with so much lenity, it was not through any doubt of his guilt, but through respect for him whose representative he had been. But to the majority of the council this measure appeared too bold and hazardous. It might lead to a war, which it was their object to avoid: and they determined to connive at his past, and to watch his subsequent, conduct. Mary, however, who knew the secret enmity of the man, could ill disguise her feelings: and on more than one occasion answered him with an asperity of language, of the real cause of which he appears not to have been aware.[93] The Venetian ambassador, who had seconded the attempts of Noailles, was recalled by the senate.

Ratification of the treaty of marriage.

The rebellion had suspended, for a few weeks, the proceedings relative to the queen's marriage; but in the beginning of March the count Egmont returned from Brussels with the ratification of

[93] Griffet, xxxviii.

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the treaty on the part of the emperor. On an appointed day the lords of the council accompanied Mary to her private oratory; and the count was introduced by the lord admiral and the earl of Pembroke. The queen, having knelt before the altar, said, that she took this solemn occasion to express her mind in their presence, and to call on God to witness the truth of her words. She had not determined to marry through dislike of celibacy, nor had she chosen the prince of Spain through respect of kindred. In the one and the other, her chief object had been to promote the honour of her crown, and to secure the tranquillity of her realm. To her people she had pledged her faith on the day of her coronation; it was her firm resolve to redeem that pledge: nor would she ever permit affection for her husband to seduce her from the performance of this, the first, the most sacred of her duties. After this address she exchanged the ratification of the treaty with the ambassador: he espoused her in the name of the prince of Spain; and she put on her finger a valuable ring, sent by the emperor as a present from his son.[94] March 10.

The parliament had been summoned to meet at Oxford, but was transferred to Westminster, apparently at the request of the citizens. The chief object of the queen was to silence the Proceedings of parliament. April 2.

[94] Griffet, xxxix.

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arguments of the insurgents by the authority of the legislature. 1°. The cause of the lady Jane had been espoused by many of the reformed preachers. They had then no objection to a female sovereign. But the failure of their hopes had removed the veil from their eyes; and the more violent had now discovered that the government of a woman was prohibited by the word of God. In the Old Testament it had been ordered to take the king from the midst of the "brethren," an expression which, they contended, must exclude all females; and in the New we are taught that the man is the head of the woman, whence they inferred, that no woman ought to possess the supreme authority over men.[95] In confirmation of their doctrine they appealed to the statutes of the realm. What authority did they give to queens? It was to kings, and to kings alone, that they assigned the royal prerogatives, and the punishment of offences against the crown. In opposition to this dangerous notion it was now declared, without a dissentient voice in either house, that by the ancient law of the land, whatever person, male or female, is invested with the kingly office, he or she ought to possess and exercise, in their full extent, all the pre-eminence, jurisdiction, and powers, belonging to the crown.[96] 2°. To prove the policy of the in-

[95] Strype, iii. 11.

[96] St. 1 Mary, sess. 3. c. 1.

tended marriage with Philip against the reasoning of its adversaries, the members were requested to cast their eyes on the situation of the neighbouring nations. France and Scotland were the natural enemies of England. Hitherto they had been connected only by treaties; but now the young queen of Scotland was contracted to the dauphin of France. Where was England to find a counterpoise but in the marriage of the queen to Philip of Spain? Let the issue of Mary Stuart inherit the two crowns of France and Scotland. By this marriage, the issue of the English queen would inherit England with the Netherlands; and that country, in the estimation of every reasonable man, would prove a more valuable acquisition to the English crown, than Scotland could ever prove to that of France.[97] But it was objected, would not this marriage place the liberties of the nation at the mercy of a foreign despot? Undoubtedly not. Let them examine the articles of treaty. They had been drawn after long and mature deliberation: they contained every security which the most ingenious could devise, or the most timorous could desire: they excluded all foreigners from office; they placed the honour, the franchises, and the rights of the natives beyond danger or controversy. Satisfied by this reasoning, both houses unanimously concurred in an act, confirming the treaty of marriage, and declaring that the queen.

[97] See a state paper in Noailles, iii. 109. 118. Also his account of Gardiner's speech, iii. 152.

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after its solemnization, should continue to enjoy and exercise the sovereignty as sole queen, without any right or claim to be given unto Philip as tenant by courtesy, or by any other manner.[98]

May 5.

Mary having thus obtained her chief object, dissolved the parliament in person, with an address, which was repeatedly interrupted by the acclamations of the audience. Both lords and commons assured her that the prince of Spain, on his arrival, would receive a most hearty welcome from a dutiful and affectionate people.[99]

Arrival of Philip.

Still the king of France indulged a hope that some favourable incident might occur to interrupt the marriage. He not only opened an asylum for the English rebels, who had fled from justice, but encouraged them to fit out vessels for the purpose of cruising against the subjects of Charles: and he ordered his ambassador in England to persist in his intrigues, and to keep alive, by his promises, the hopes of the factious.[100] That minister had several warm alter-

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[98] St. 1 Mary, sess. 3. c. 2. According to Noailles, Gardiner, in his speech, had suggested that as the queen and her sister Elizabeth only remained of the descendants of Henry VIII., Mary, like her father, ought to have the power of regulating the succession after her death. Noailles, iii. 153. If it was so, the subject was not followed up. There is no mention of any such motion in the journals.

[99] Griffet, xlvii. Que me met en entiere confidence que votre venue par deca sera seure et aygreable. Mary to Philip, Apr. 24th, apud Hearne, sylloge, ep. 156.

[100] One of their contrivances deserves to be mentioned. The most extraordinary sounds were heard to issue from a wall in Aldersgate Street, intermixed with words of obscure meaning,

cations with Mary. He complained, in a haughty tone, that his dispatches had been intercepted; she, that her rebellious subjects were countenanced and protected by his master. He, to intimidate, hinted that at the death of Edward all the treaties between the two crowns had expired: she, for the same pupose, required an explanation of his meaning, that she might take measures for her own security. In the mean time he saw the preparations for the marriage proceeding with activity; and, to console his chagrin, employed his time in collecting unfounded tales for the information of his sovereign, exaggerating the discontent of the nation, and describing, with a sarcastic smile, the impatience of the old woman longing for the presence of her young husband.[101] To his sorrow, that husband in a short time arrived. He had July 18.

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which were immediately interpreted to the crowd by persons in the secret. The voice was believed to be super-human, the voice of the Holy Ghost warning a wicked and incredulous generation. It inveighed against the marriage of the queen, and the impiety of the mass; and threatened the citizens with war, famine, pestilence, and earthquakes. Multitudes assembled daily to listen to the spirit, till workmen, by order of the magistrates, began to demolish the wall: when Elizabeth Crofts, a young woman of eighteen, crept out of her hiding place, and confessed that she had been hired and instructed to act her part by a person of the name of Drakes. She was put on the pillory. Hollings. 1117. Strype, iii. 99. 136. Stow. 624.

[101] Noailles, iii. 195. 211. 240. 251. The blunders of this minister are often amusing. On two occasions he informs his court that the queen is going to reside at York, because York is situated in the neighbourhood of Bristol where the prince of Spain intends to land. iii. 96.

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sailed from Corunna, and in four days came within sight of Southampton, escorted by the combined fleets of England, the Netherlands,

July 19.

and Spain. The next morning the lords of the council, with a numerous retinue, proceeded to the fleet, and Philip, accompanied by the dukes of Alva and Medina Celi, the admiral of Castile, and don Ruy Gomez, his governor, entered the royal yacht, where he was received by the duke of Norfolk and the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, and Derby. He had already sworn to the articles of the marriage treaty, in presence of the lords Bedford and Fitzwater, the English ambassadors: he now took an oath before the council, to observe the laws, customs, and liberties of the realm. The moment he set his foot on the beach, he was invested with the order of the garter, and a royal salute was fired by the batteries and the ships in the harbour. The queen had sent him a Spanish genet, richly caparisoned: and as he rode first to the church and thence to his lodging, the people crowded around him to see the husband of their sovereign. His youth, the grace of his person,[102] the pleasure displayed in his countenance, charmed the spectators: they saluted him with cries of "God "save your grace; and he, turning on either

[102] "He is so well proportioned of bodi, arme, legge, and every "othere limme to the same, as nature cannot worke a more parfect "paterne." Elder apud Andrews, i. 20.

side, expressed his thankfulness for their congratulations. Before he dismissed the English lords, he addressed them in a Latin speech. It was not, he said, want of men or of money, that had drawn him from his own country. But God had called him to marry their virtuous sovereign, and he was come to live among them, not as a foreigner, but as a native Englishman. He received with pleasure their assurances of faith and loyalty; and promised, in return, that they should always find him a grateful, affable, and affectionate prince. Then turning to the Spanish lords, he expressed a wish that, while they remained in England, they would conform to the customs of England; and, to give the example, drank farewell to the company in a tankard of ale, a beverage, which he then tasted for the first time.[103]

Marriage of Philip and Mary.

Philip, before he left Southampton, ordered his fleet to sail to Flanders, and sent the queen a present of jewels, valued at one hundred thousand crowns. On the festival of St. James, the patron saint of Spain, the marriage was celebrated in the cathedral church at Winchester, before crowds of noblemen collected from every part of Christendom, and with a magnificence which has seldom been surpassed. Immediately before the ceremony, Figueroa, an imperial counsellor, presented to Gardiner, the officiating

July 25.

[103] Noailles, iii. 284. Contin. of Fabian, 561. Pollini, 362.

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prelate, two instruments, from which he said it would appear that his sovereign, thinking it beneath the dignity of so great a queen to marry one who was not a king, had resigned to his son the crown of Naples with the dutchy of Milan. The bishop, before he proceeded to the marriage ceremony, read aloud these cessions and the articles of the treaty. After the mass, the king and queen left the church, under a canopy, walking hand in hand, Mary on the right and Philip on the left, with two naked swords borne before them. They dined in public, in the episcopal palace; and several days were devoted to feasting and rejoicings.[104] From Winchester the royal pair proceeded, by slow journies, to Windsor and the metropolis. The city had been beautified at considerable expense, and the most splendid pageants had been devised to welcome their arrival. If external appearances could be taken for proofs of internal feeling, the king and queen might justly flatter themselves that they reigned in the hearts and affections of their subjects.

Re-union with Rome.

The facility with which Mary had effected her marriage, shewed how much the failure of the insurrection had added to the power of her

[104] No one but the bishop dined at the same table with the king and queen. On one side was placed a cupboard, containing for shew, 96 large vases of gold and silver. As soon as dinner was over, the tables were removed; and the rest of the day was spent in dancing. Pollini, 373.

government; and she immediately resolved to attempt that which she had long considered an indispensable duty, the restoration of the religious polity of the kingdom to that state in which it existed at the time of her birth. The reader will recollect that in her first parliament she had prudently confined her efforts to the public re-establishment of the ancient form of worship. The statute was carried into execution on the appointed day, almost without opposition: the married clergy, according to the provisions of the canon law, were removed from their benefices;[105] and Gardiner, with the secret approbation of the pontiff, had consecrated catholic prelates to supersede the few protestant bishops, who remained in possession of their sees.[106] Thus one half of the measure had been already accomplished: the other, the recognition of the papal supremacy, a more hazardous task, was intrusted to the care and dexterity of the

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[105] The canon law had been restored to its former authority by the repeal of the nine statutes. The clergymen who were removed might, by conforming, recover their benefices.—If we may judge of other dioceses from that of Canterbury, the number of married was to that of unmarried clergymen as one to five. Harmer, 138.

[106] They were seven; Holgate of York, Taylor of Lincoln, Hooper of Worcester, Harley of Hereford, Ferrar of St. David's, Bush of Bristol, and Bird of Chester. Some of them had married; some had been consecrated according to the new ordinal, which was held to be insufficient; and all had accepted their bishoprics to hold them at the pleasure of the crown, with the clause, quamdiu bene se gesserint. On one, or other, or all of these grounds, they were deprived. Rym. xv 370, 371.

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chancellor. There were two classes of men, from whom he had to fear opposition; those who felt conscientious objections to the authority of the pontiff, and those who were hostile to it from motives of interest. The former were not formidable either by their number or their influence: for the frequent changes of religious belief had generated in the higher classes an indifference to religious truth. Their former notions had been unsettled; and no others had been firmly planted in their place. Unable or unwilling to compare the conflicting arguments of polemics, they floated on a sea of uncertainty, ready at all times to attach themselves to any form of religion which suited their convenience or interest.[107] But the second class comprised almost every opulent family in the kingdom. They had all shared the plunder of the church: they would never consent to the restoration of that jurisdiction which might call in question their right to their present posessions. Hence Gardiner saw, that it was necessary, in the first place, to free them from apprehension, and, for that

[107] This is the character of the English gentry and nobility at this period, as it is drawn by Renard, Noailles, and the Venetian ambassador, in their dispatches. The latter represents them as without any other religion than interest, and ready at the call of the sovereign to embrace Judaism or Mahommedanism. Il medesimo fariano della Macometana, ove della Judæa, purche il re mostrassi di credere e volere cosi, e accommodariansi a tutte, ma a quella piu facilmente della quale ne sperassero over maggior licentia e libertà di vivere o vero qualche utiltà. MSS. Barber, 1208.

purpose, to procure from the pontiff a bull confirming all past alienation of the property of the church.

Assurance of abbey lands.

This subject had from the commencement been urged on the consideration of the court of Rome. At first Pole, the legate, had been authorized "to treat, compound and dispense," with the holders of ecclesiastical property, as to the rents and profits which they had hitherto received: afterwards, this power was extended from rents and profits, to lands, tenements, and tithes. But Gardiner was not satisfied.[108] He knew it to be the opinion of Pole that all the property belonging to the parochial livings ought to be restored; and he feared that the words "to treat, compound, and dispense," might furnish the cardinal with a pretext to call individuals before his tribunal. The imperial court entered into the views of the English minister: it was determined to detain the cardinal in Flanders;[109] and Manriquez was ordered to explain the difficulty to the pontiff, in the name of Philip and Mary. Julius, having consulted his canonists and divines, assured the envoy that the wishes of the king and queen should be

June 29.

[108] Burnet, iii. rec. 222.

[109] The cardinal had been allowed to go to Brussels, and thence to Paris, to offer the papal mediation in the war between the emperor and the king of France. While he was there, a letter was written to Mary by some one in his suite, dissuading her from the marriage with Philip. Charles attributed it to the cardinal, and from that moment treated him with neglect.

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gratified; and shortly afterwards signed a bull, empowering the legate to give, alienate, and
Oct. 5. transfer to the present possessors all property moveable or immoveable, which had been torn from the church during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI.[110]

Meeting of parliament.

The parliament had been convoked for the middle of November. Mary no longer regarded the murmurs of the discontented: she was assured of the concurrence of the peers: and, to lessen the chance of opposition in the commons, had ordered the sheriffs to recommend to the electors those candidates, who were distinguished by their attachment to the ancient
Nov. 1. faith.[111] The procession was opened by the commoners; the peers and prelates followed; and next came Philip and Mary, in robes of purple, the king on horseback, attended by the lords of his household, the queen in a litter, followed by the ladies of her establishment. The chancellor, having taken his place in front of the throne, addressed the two houses. The queen's

[110] There is a letter from cardinal Morone to Pole, informing him that all who had been consulted, were of opinion that in this particular case the alienation was lawful, and hoping that there would now be an end of his scruples: in lei sara cessato tutto lo scrupulo che aveva. Quirini, iv. 170. The clause "to give, aliene, and "transfer," had been devised by Gardiner, as the most likely to tranquillize the present possessors, and to secure them against subsequent claims. Pallavicino, ii. 411.

[111] It was customary for the ministers to send such instructions. It was done in Edward's reign, Lansdowne MSS. iii. 19; and also in Elizabeth's, Strype, i. 32. Clarendon Papers, 92.

first parliament, he said, had re-established the ancient worship, her second had confirmed the articles of her marriage; and their majesties expected that the third, in preference to every other object, would accomplish the re-union of the realm with the universal church. As a preliminary step, a bill was introduced to repeal the attainder of cardinal Pole. It was passed with the greatest expedition, and the next day the king and queen attended in person to give it the royal assent.[112] Nov. 22.

Arrival of Pole.

The lord Paget, and sir Edward Hastings, with sir William Cecil, and a numerous train of gentlemen, had already reached Brussels to conduct the legate to England.[113] At Dover he was received by the lord Montague and the bishop of Ely: and as he advanced, his retinue was swelled by the accession of the country gentlemen, till it amounted to eighteen hundred horse. He entered his barge at Gravesend, where he was presented, by the earl of Shrewsbury and the

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[112] Journals of Lords, 467. Commons, 37, 38. Ep. Poli, iv. App. 289. Strype, iii. 155.

[113] Pole, ignorant of the proceedings at Rome, had written a most urgent letter to Philip; who sent Renard to explain the objections to his admission as legate without sufficient powers. Pole replied, that in addition to his former powers, he had another bull from the pope, promising, in verbo pontificis, to ratify whatever concessions he might think proper to make. Renard lamented that this was not previously known. Immediately on the return of Renard, Pole was desired to prepare for his journey. Pallavicino, ii. 411. ex registro Poli.

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bishop of Durham, with a copy of the act repealing his attainder; and fixing his cross, the emblem of his dignity, in the prow, he proceeded by water to Westminster. The chancellor re-

Nov. 24. ceived him on his landing, the king at the gate of the place, and the queen at the head of the staircase. After a short conversation he retired to the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, which had been prepared for his residence.[114]

Nov. 28. In consequence of a royal message, the lords and commons repaired to the court: and, after a few words from the chancellor, Pole, in a long harangue, returned them thanks for the act which they had passed in his favour, exhorted them to repeal, in like manner, all the statutes enacted in derogation of the papal authority; and assured them of every facility on his part to effect the re-union of the church of England with that of Rome.[115] The chancellor, having first taken the orders of the king and queen, replied,

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[114] Strype, iii. 157. Ep. Poli, v. App. 291. 307. 310. A writ, authorizing him to exercise his powers, had been signed on the 10th of Nov. Strype, ibid.

[115] Burnet tells us, that the queen was so much affected, that she mistook her emotion for the "quickening of a child in her "belly." ii. 292. The fact took place four days before. She sent lord Montague to inform the legate, che infino allora ella non havea voluta confessare apertamente d'esser gravida: ma che nella giunta de sua S. R. s'havea sentito muover la creatura nel ventre, e pero non lo poteva più negare. On the 27th, it was publicly announced by a circular from the council. Fox, iii. 88. Noailles, iv. 23.

that the two houses would deliberate apart, and signify their determination on the following morning.

The motion for the re-union was carried almost by acclamation. In the lords every voice was raised in its favour: in the commons, out of three hundred members two only demurred, and these desisted from their opposition the next day.[116] It was determined to present a petition in the name of both houses to the king and queen, stating, that they looked back with sorrow and regret on the defection of the realm from the communion of the apostolic see: that they were ready to repeal, as far as in them lay, every statute, which had either caused or supported that defection: and that they hoped, through the mediation of their majesties, to be absolved from all ecclesiastical censures, and to be received into the bosom of the universal church.

His proceedings. Nov. 30.

On the following day, the feast of St. Andrew, the queen took her seat on the throne. The king was placed on her left hand, the legate, but at greater distance, on her right. The chancellor read the petition to their majesties: they spoke to the cardinal: and he, after a speech of some duration, absolved "all those "present, and the whole nation, and the do-

[116] Sir Ralph Bagnal (Strype, iii. 204) had refused to vote; the other grounded his objection on the oath of supremacy which he had taken. Ep. Poli, v. App. 314.

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"minions thereof, from all heresy and schism, "and all judgments, censures, and penalties for "that cause incurred; and restored them to the "communion of holy church in the name of the "Father, Son, and Holy Ghost." "Amen," resounded from every part of the hall: and the members, rising from their knees, followed the king and queen into the chapel, where Te Deum was chaunted in thanksgiving for the event.[117] The next Sunday the legate, at the invitation of the citizens, made his public entry into the metropolis; and Gardiner preached at St. Paul's cross, the celebrated sermon, in which he lamented in bitter terms his conduct under Henry VIII.; and exhorted all, who had fallen through his means, or in his company, to rise with him, and seek the unity of the catholic church.[118]

Conduct of parliament.

To proceed with this great work, the two houses and the convocation simultaneously presented separate petitions to the throne. That from the lords and commons, requested

[117] Poli ep. v. App. 315—318. Fox, 91. Journal of Commons, 38.

[118] This sermon is noticed by Fox, iii. 92. A Latin translation of it may be seen inter Ep. Poli, v. 293. 300. Gardiner asserts, that Henry VIII. during the rebellion in 1536, entertained serious thoughts of seeking a reconciliation with the pontiff; and that in 1541, he employed him and Knyvett, during the diet at Ratisbon, to solicit secretly the mediation of the emperor for that purpose. They were, however, discovered, and Gardiner was accused of holding communication with Contarini the papal legate. Henry was careful to hush up the matter. See some account of it in Fox, who knew not of Gardiner's commission, Fox, iii. 448, 449.

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their majesties to obtain from the legate, all those dispensations and indulgences, which the innovations made during the schism had rendered necessary, and particularly such as might secure the property of the church to the present possessors without scruple of conscience, or impeachment from the ecclesiastical courts. The other, from the clergy, stated their resignation of all right to those possessions of which the church had been deprived; and their readiness to acquiesce in every arrangement to be made by the legate. His decree was soon afterwards published: 1°. That all cathedral churches, hospitals, and schools founded during the schism should be preserved: 2°. That all persons, who had contracted marriage within the prohibited degrees without dispensation, should remain married; 3°. That all judicial processes made before the ordinaries, or in appeal before delegates, should be held valid; and 4.° That the possessors of church property should not, either now or hereafter, be molested, under pretence of any canons of councils, decrees of popes, or censures of the church; for which purpose, in virtue of the authority vested in him, he took from all spiritual courts and judges the cognizance of these matters, and pronounced, beforehand, all such processes and judgments invalid and of no effect.[119]

[119] The next year, on the 14th of July, Paul IV. published a bull, condemning and revoking, in general terms, the alienations of

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Confirmed by act of parliament.

In the mean time a joint committee of lords and commons had been actively employed in framing a most important and comprehensive bill, which deserves the attention of the reader, from the accuracy with which it distinguishes between the civil and ecclesiastical jurisdictions, and the care with which it guards against any encroachment on the part of the latter. It first repeals several statutes by name, and then, in general, all clauses, sentences, and articles in every other act of parliament made since the 20th of Henry VIII. against the supreme authority of the pope's holiness or see apostolic.[120] It next re-

church property to secular uses. Burnet, iii. Rec. 3. This bull did not regard the late proceedings in England; for, egli dichiara di parlare di quelle alienazioni, che si erano fatte senza le dovute solennità. Becchetti, Istoria, x. 197. But, to prevent doubts on the subject, Pole obtained from him a bull, expressly excepting the church property in England from the operation of the second bull, qua hujus regni bona ecclesiastica ab ejus sanctitatis revocatione nominatim excipiuntur. Poli ep. v. 42. Sept. 16, 1555. and also, "confirming his doings respecting assurance of abbey lands, &c." Journal of Commons, 42. It was read to both houses at the opening of parliament on the 23d of October. Besides this, the cardinal obtained from him a breve declaratorium ejus bullæ, qua bonorum ecclesiasticorum alienationes rescinduntur, et confirmatorium eorum, quæ majestatibus vestris remisi. Poli ep. v. 85.

[120] Most readers have very confused and incorrect notions of the jurisdiction, which the pontiff, in virtue of his supremacy, claimed to exercise within the realm. From this act, and the statutes which it repeals, it follows, that that jurisdiction was comprised under the following heads: 1°. He was acknowledged as chief bishop of the Christian church, with authority to reform and redress heresies, errors, and abuses within the same. 2°. To him belonged the institution or confirmation of bishops elect. 3°. He could grant to clergymen licences of non-residence, and permission to hold more than one

cites the two petitions, and the dispensation of the legate; and enacts, that every article in that dispensation shall be reputed good and effectual in law, and may be alleged and pleaded in all courts spiritual and temporal. It then proceeds to state that, though the legate hath by his decree taken away all matter of impeachment, trouble, or danger to the holders of church property: yet, because the title of lands and hereditaments in this realm is grounded on the laws and customs of the same, and to be tried and judged in no other courts than those of their majesties: it is therefore enacted, by authority of parliament, that all such possessors of church property shall hold the same in manner and form as they would have done, had this act never been made; and, that any person who shall molest such possessors by process out of any ecclesiastical court, either within or without the realm, shall incur the penalty of præmunire. Next it provides, that all papal bulls, dispensations, and privileges, not containing matter prejudicial to the royal authority, or to the laws of the realm, may be put in execution, used, and alleged in all courts whatsoever: and concludes by declaring, that nothing in this act shall be explained to impair any authority or prerogative belonging to the crown, in the 20th year of Henry VIII.: that the pope shall have and en-

benefice, with cure of souls. 4°. He dispensed in the canonical impediments of matrimony; and 5°. He received appeals from the spiritual courts.

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joy, without diminution or enlargement, the same authority and jurisdiction, which he might then have lawfully exercised; and, that the jurisdiction of the bishops shall be restored to that state, in which it existed at the same period. In the lords, the bill was read thrice in two days; in the commons, it was passed after a sharp debate on the third reading.[121] Thus was re-established, in England, the whole system of religious polity, which had prevailed for so many centuries before Henry VIII.

Intrigues of the French ambassador.

The French ambassador had persuaded himself, that the great object of the emperor, was to employ the resources of England against his adversary the king of France; and, that the fondness of Mary for her husband, would induce her to gratify all his wishes, let them be ever so illegal or unjust. On this account, he continued to intrigue with the factious: he warned them that England would soon become a province under the despotic government of Spain; he exhorted them to be on the watch, to oppose every measure dictated by Philip, and to

[121] From the journals it appears, that the subject of discussion was not so much the substance of the bill, as some of its provisions involving particular interests. In the lords, Bonner, bishop of London, voted against it; the commons added two provisions respecting lands to be hereafter given to the church, and the recovery of those already taken from it; and requested the erasure of 19 lines regarding the bishop of London and the lord Wentworth. The lords agreed, and the chancellor cut out the 19 lines with a knife; yet the lord Montague, and the bishops of London, and Lichfield and Coventry, voted against the bill in its amended shape. Journals, 484.

preserve, at every personal risk, their liberties for their children, and the succession to the crown for the true heir. In his dispatches to his court, he described the discontent of the nation as wound up to the highest pitch; the embers of revolt, he said, were still alive; in a few months, perhaps a few weeks, the flame would burst forth with redoubled violence.[122] But he mistook his wishes for realities; his information frequently proved erroneous; and his predictions were belied by the event. In the present parliament, he assured his sovereign, that, in pursuance of the emperor's plan, the queen would ask for a matrimonial crown for her husband; would place the whole power of the executive government in his hands; and would seek to have him declared presumptive heir to the crown. What projects she might have formed, we know not: but it would be rash to judge of her intentions from the malicious conjectures of Noailles; and the fact is, that no such measures as he describes, were ever proposed. The two houses, however, joined in a petition to Philip, that, "if it should happen to the queen "otherwise than well, in the time of her travel, "he would take upon himself the government "of the realm during the minority of her majes- "ty's issue, with the rule, order, education, and "government of the said issue." The king sig-

[122] Noailles, iii. 318. iv. 27. 62. 76. 153.

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nified his assent; and an act passed, intrusting to him the government, till the child, if a female, were fifteen, if a male, eighteen years old; making it high treason to imagine or compass his death, or attempt to remove him from the said government and guardianship; and binding him, in the execution of his office, to all the conditions and restrictions which were contained in the original treaty of marriage.[123]

Acts of grace.

The dissolution of the parliament was followed by an unexpected act of grace. The lord chancellor, accompanied by several members of the council, proceeded to the Tower, called before him the state prisoners, still confined on account of the attempts of Northumberland and Wyat, and informed them, that the king and queen had, at the intercession of the emperor, granted them

1555. Jan. 18.

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[123] Noailles, iv. 137. Stat. 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 10. An unusual circumstance occurred about the close of the session. It was customary for both houses to adjourn at Christmas over the holidays; and several members had sent for their servants and horses to visit their families during the recess. But on the 22d of Dec. orders were issued, that neither lords nor commons should depart before the end of the parliament. The two houses continued to sit, but 37 members of the lower absented themselves in opposition to the royal command. A bill for the punishment of such knights and burgesses as should neglect their duty, passed the commons: but the day after it had been read the first time in the lords, the parliament was dissolved. Griffith, however, the attorney-general, indicted the offenders in the king's bench. Six submitted, the rest traversed, and the matter was suffered to die away. Lord Coke represents them as seceding on account of their attachment to the reformed church. See Cobbett's Parliamentary History, i. 625, and the Journals, p. 41.

their liberty. The same favour was also extended to Elizabeth and Courteney. The earl, having paid his respects to Philip and Mary, received a permission, equivalent to a command, to travel for his improvement; and, having remained for some time in the imperial court at Brussels, proceeded to Italy, with recommendatory letters from Philip to the princes of that country. At his departure from England, Elizabeth reappeared at court. By the king and queen she was treated with kindness and distinction; and, after a visit of some months, returned to her own house in the country.[124]

Embassy to Rome.

In consequence of the act restoring the exercise of the papal authority in England, the viscount Montague, the bishop of Ely, and sir Edward Carne, had been appointed ambassadors to the Roman see. But they had not proceeded far on their journey when Julius died. In the preceding conclave the cardinal Farnese had employed his influence to raise Pole to the papacy: he had even obtained one evening the requisite number of votes: but the English cardinal, irresolute and unambitious, bade him wait till the following morning, and on that morning another candidate was proposed and chosen. On the present vacancy Farnese espoused again the

Feb. 18. March 23.

[124] The conduct of Bedingfield, Elizabeth's "jailor" at Woodstock, has been vindicated from the slander of Fox, by Wharton, in his life of sir T. Pope, 75.

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interests of his friend: he procured from the French king letters in favour of Pole; and hastened with these documents from Avignon to

April 9. Rome. Before his arrival, at the very opening of the conclave, Cervini was unanimously elected, a prelate whose acknowledged merit awakened the most flattering expectations. But the new pontiff, who had taken the name of Marcellus II.

April 30. died within one-and-twenty days; and the friends of Pole laboured a third time to honour him with the tiara. Philip and Mary and Gardiner employed letters and messengers; the French king, though it was suspected that he secretly gave his interest to the cardinal of Ferrara, promised his best services: and Farnese, without waiting for new credentials, exhibited the letters, which he had brought to the last conclave. But the cardinals, as well in the imperial as in the French interest, refused their voices: the former believing from past events that Pole was in secret an object of suspicion to their sovereign, the latter alleging that they could not vote without new instructions in his favour. Had he been present, he might have obtained the requisite majority of

May 23. suffrages; in his absence Caraffa was chosen, and took the name of Paul IV. On the very day

June 5. of the coronation of this pontiff, the English ambassadors reached Rome. Pole had foreseen that the new title of king and queen of Ireland, assumed by Philip and Mary, in imitation of

Henry and Edward, might create some difficulty: and had therefore requested that Ireland might be declared a kingdom before the arrival of the ambassadors.[125] But the death of Julius, succeeded by that of Marcellus, had prevented those pontiffs from complying with his advice: and the first act of the new pope, after his coronation, was to publish a bull by which, at the petition of Philip and Mary, he raised the lordship of Ireland to the dignity of a kingdom.[126] Till this had been done, the ambassadors waited without the city: three days later they were publicly introduced. They acknowledged the pontiff as head of the universal church, presented to him a copy of the act by which his authority had been re-established, and solicited him to ratify the absolution pronounced by the legate, and to confirm the bishoprics erected during the schism. Paul received them with kindness and granted their requests. Lord Mon-

June 7.

June 10.

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[125] Poli Ep. l. v. ep. 5.

[126] See the bull in Bsovius. Ann. Eccl. tom. xx. p. 301: and the extract from Act. Consistorial inter Poli ep. v. 136. It was sealed with lead; but Pole was careful to procure a second copy sealed with gold. (Ibid. 42. Such was the custom. Thus the bull giving to Henry VIII. the title of Defender of the Faith, has a gold seal to it.) As the natives of Ireland had maintained that the kings of England originally held Ireland by the donation of Adrian IV. and had lost it by their defection from the communion of Rome, the council delivered the second bull to Dr. Carey, the new archbishop of Dublin, with orders that it should be deposited in the treasury, after copies had been made, and circulated throughout the island. Extract from council book, Archæol. xviii. 183.

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tague and the bishop of Ely with the usual presents were dismissed: Carne remained as resident ambassador.[127]

[127] The ambassadors had acted under the authority originally given to them; but after the departure of lord Montague other credentials arrived, by which they were deputed ambassadors to the new pope. The bishop and Carne, in consequence, went through the former ceremonial a second time, but in a private consistory, on June 21. See Paul's letter to the king and queen, Poli ep. v. 136—139. A very erroneous statement of the whole transaction has been copied from Fra Paolo by most of our historians: the above is taken from the original documents furnished by Pole's letters.

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PERSECUTION OF THE REFORMERS—SUFFERINGS OF RIDLEY AND LATIMER—RECANTATIONS AND DEATH OF CRANMER—DURATION AND SEVERITY OF THE PERSECUTION—DEPARTURE OF PHILIP—DEATH OF GARDINER—SURRENDER BY THE CROWN OF TENTHS AND FIRST FRUITS—TREASONABLE ATTEMPTS—WAR WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND—VICTORY AT ST. QUINTIN—LOSS OF CALAIS—DEATH AND CHARACTER OF THE QUEEN.

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It was the lot of Mary to live in an age of religious intolerance, when to punish the professors of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty, no less by those who rejected, than by those who asserted, the papal authority.[1] It might perhaps have been expected that the reformers, from their sufferings under Henry VIII. would have learned to respect the rights of conscience. Experience proved the contrary. They had no sooner obtained the ascendency during the short reign of Edward, than they displayed the same persecuting spirit which they had for-

[1] This is equally true of the foreign religionists. See Calvin, de supplicio Serveti, Beza de Hæreticis a civili magistratu puniendis, and Melancthon, in locis com. c. xxxii. de ecclesia.

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merely condemned, burning the anabaptist, and preparing to burn the catholic at the stake, for no other crime than adherence to religious opinion. The former, by the existing law, was already liable to the penalty of death: the latter enjoyed a precarious respite, because his belief had not yet been pronounced heretical by any acknowledged authority. But the zeal of archbishop Cranmer observed and supplied this deficiency; and in the code of ecclesiastical discipline which he compiled for the government of the reformed church, he was careful to class the distinguishing doctrines of the ancient worship with those more recently promulgated by Muncer and Socinus. By the new canon of the law metropolitan, to believe in transubstantiation, to admit the papal supremacy, and to deny justification by faith only, were severally made heresy: and it was ordained that individuals accused of holding heretical opinions should be arraigned before the spiritual courts; should be excommunicated on conviction; and after a respite of sixteen days should, if they continued obstinate, be delivered to the civil magistrate, to suffer the punishment provided by law. Fortunately for the professors of the ancient faith, Edward died before this code had obtained the sanction of the legislature: by the accession of Mary the power of the sword passed from the hands of one religious party to those of the other; and within a short time Cranmer and his

associates perished in the flames which they had prepared to kindle for the destruction of their opponents.[2]

Origin of the persecution.

With whom the persecution under Mary originated, is a matter of uncertainty. By the reformed writers the infamy of the measure is usually allotted to Gardiner, more, as far as I can judge, from conjecture and prejudice, than from real information. The charge is not supported by any authentic document: it is weakened by the general tenor of the chancellor's conduct.[3] All that we know with certainty is, that after the queen's marriage this question

[2] If the reader be inclined to dispute the accuracy of this statement, let him consult the work in question (Reformatio legum ecclesiasticarum) under the title de Hæresibus, c. 1. 7. 19. 21. and the title de Judiciis contra hær. c. 1, 2, 3, 4.

[3] The only instance in which Gardiner was known to take any part in the persecution, will be mentioned later: and then he acted in virtue of his office as chancellor. When at a later period sir Francis Hastings applied to him the epithet "bloody," Persons indignantly answered: "Verely I beleeve that if a man should ask "any good-natured protestant that lived in queen Maries tyme, "and hath both wit to judge and indifferency to speake the truthe "without passion, he wil confesse that no one great man in that "government was further off from blood and bloodiness, or from "crueltie and revenge, than bishop Gardiner, who was known to be "a most tender-harted and myld man in that behalf; in so much "that it was sometymes, and by some great personages, objected "to him for no small fault, to be ever full of compassion in the "office and charge that he bare: yea, to him especially it was im-"puted, that none of the greatest and most knowen protestantes in "queen Maries reigne, were ever called to accompt, or put to "trooble for religion." Ward-worde, p. 42. See also Fuller, l. viii. p. 17.

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was frequently debated by the lords of the council: and that their final resolution was not communicated to her before the beginning of November. Mary returned the following answer in writing: "Touching the punishment of here-"tics we thinketh it ought to be done without "rashness, not leaving in the mean time to do "justice to such as, by learning, would seem to "deceive the simple; and the rest so to be used "that the people might well perceive them not "to be condemned without just occasion: by "which they shall both understand the truth, "and beware not to do the like. And especially "within London, I would wish none to be burnt "without some of the council's presence, and "both there and every where good sermons at "the same time."[4]

Petitions of the reformers. 1554. Dec. 12.

Though it had been held in the last reign that by the common law of the land heresy was a crime punishable with death, it was deemed advisable to revive the statutes which had formerly been enacted to suppress the doctrines of the lollards.[5] An act for this purpose was brought into the commons in the beginning of the next year: every voice was in its favour: and in the

[4] The date of this paper, which disproves the pretended dispute between Gardiner and Pole in Hume, c. xxxvii., is evident from its mentioning those who "have to talk with my lord cardinal at his "first coming." It is in Collier, ii. 371. Of course Pole had not yet arrived to hold the language attributed to him by the historian.

[5] See this history, vol. iv, p. 444. vol. v. p. 6, 7. St. 1 and 2 of Philip and Mary, 1.

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course of four days it had passed the two houses. The reformed preachers were alarmed. The most eminent among them had long since been committed to prison, some as the accomplices of Northumberland, or Suffolk, or Wyat; others for having presumed to preach without licence: and several on charges of disorderly or seditious conduct. To ward off the impending danger, they composed and forwarded petitions, including a confession of their faith, both to the king and queen, and to the lords and commons assembled in parliament. In these instruments they declared, that the canonical books of the Old, and all the books of the New Testament, are the true word of God: that the catholic church ought to be heard, as being the spouse of Christ: and that those who refuse to hear her "obeying the word of her husband," are heretics and schismatics. They profess to believe all the articles of doctrine "set forth in the "symbols of the councils of Nice, of Constanti-"nople, of Ephesus, of Chalcedon, and of the "first and fourth of Toledo; and in the creeds "of the apostles, of Athanasius, of Irenæus, of "Tertullian, and of Damasus: so that whoso-"ever doth not believe generally and particularly "the doctrine of those symbols, they hold him "to err from the truth." They reject free-will, merits, works of supererogation, confession and satisfaction, the invocation of the saints, and the use in the liturgy of an unknown tongue. They

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admit two sacraments, baptism, and the Lord's supper; but disallow transubstantiation, communion under one kind, the sacrifice of the mass, and the inhibition of marriage to the clergy. They offer to prove the truth of their belief by public disputation; and are willing to submit to the worst of punishments, if they do not show that the doctrine of the church, the homilies, and the services set forth by king Edward, are most agreeable to the articles of christian faith. Lastly, they warn all men against sedition and rebellion, and exhort them to obey the queen in all matters, which are not contrary to the obedience due to God, and to suffer patiently as the will and pleasure of the higher powers shall adjudge.[6]

While the ministers in prison sought to mollify their sovereign by this dutiful address, their brethren at liberty provoked chastisement, by the intemperance of their zeal. On the eve of

Dec. 31. the new year, Ross, a celebrated preacher, collected a congregation towards midnight; administered the communion; and openly prayed that God would either convert the heart of the queen, or take her out of this world. He was surprised in the fact, and imprisoned with his

1555. Jan. 16. disciples; and the parliament hastened to make it treason to have prayed since the commencement of the session, or to pray hereafter, for the

[6] Strype, iii. rec. 42, Fox, iii. 97.

queen's death. It was, however, provided that all, who had been already committed for this offence, might recover their liberty, by making an humble protestation of sorrow, and a promise of amendment.[7]

The first victims.

The new year had opened to the reformed preachers with a lowering aspect: before the close of the month, the storm burst on their heads. On the twenty-second of January, the chancellor called before him the chief of the prisoners, apprized them of the statutes enacted in the last parliament, and put them in mind of the punishment which awaited their disobedience. In a few days the court was opened. Gardiner presided as chancellor, and was attended by thirteen other bishops, and a crowd of lords and knights. Six prisoners were called before them: of whom one pretended to recant; another petitioned for time; and the other four, Hooper the deprived bishop of Glocester; Rogers, a prebendary of St. Paul's; Saunders, rector of Allhallows, in London; and Taylor, rector of Hadley, in Suffolk, replied, that their consciences forbade them to subscribe to the doctrines now established by law; and that the works of Gardiner himself, had taught them to reject the authority of the bishop of Rome. A delay of twenty-four hours was offered them: on their second refusal, they were excommuni-

Jan. 22.

Jan. 28.

Jan. 29.

[7] 1 and 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 9.

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cated: and excommunication was followed by the delivery of the prisoners to the civil power. Feb. 4. Rogers was the first victim. He perished at Feb. 8. the stake in Smithfield: Saunders underwent a Feb. 9. similar fate at Coventry, Hooper at Glocester, and Taylor at Hadley. An equal constancy was displayed by all: and, though pardon was offered them to the last moment, they scorned to purchase the continuance of life by feigning an assent to doctrines, which they did not believe. They were the protomartyrs of the reformed church of England.

To give solemnity to these, the first prosecutions under the revived statutes, they had been conducted before the lord chancellor. But whether it was, that Gardiner disapproved of the measure, or that he was called away by more important duties, he never afterwards took his seat on the bench; but transferred the ungracious office in the metropolis, to Bonner, bishop of London. That prelate, accompanied by the lord mayor and sheriffs, and several members Feb. 9. of the council, excommunicated six other prisoners, and delivered them to the civil power. Sermon of a Spanish friar. But the next day, Alphonso di Castro, a Spanish friar, and confessor to Philip, preached before Feb. 10. the court: and to the astonishment of his hearers, condemned these proceedings in the most pointed manner. He pronounced them contrary, not only to the text, but to the spirit of the gospel: it was not by severity, but by mildness, that men

were to be brought into the fold of Christ: and it was the duty of the bishops, not to seek the death, but to instruct the ignorance of their misguided brethren. Men were at a loss to account for this discourse, whether it were the spontaneous effort of the friar, or had been suggested to him by the policy of Philip, or by the humanity of the cardinal, or by the repugnance of the bishops. It made, however, a deep impression: the execution of the prisoners was suspended: the question was again debated in the council: and five weeks elasped before the advocates of severity could obtain permission to rekindle the fires of Smithfield.[8] March 16.

The bishops urged to do their duty.

It is not improbable, that the revival of the persecution was provoked by the excesses which were, at this time, committed by the fanaticism of some among the gospellers,[9] and by the detection of a new conspiracy, which had been organized in the counties of Cambridge, Suffolk, and Norfolk. As soon as the ringleaders were arrested, and committed to the Tower, the magistrates received instructions to watch over the public peace in their respective districts; to apprehend the propagators of seditious reports, the preachers of erroneous doctrine, the procurers of secret meetings, and those vagabonds, who had no visible means of subsistence; to try, by virtue of a commission of oyer and ter- March 18. March 26.

[8] Strype, iii. 209.

[9] See examples in Strype, 210. 212.

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miner, the prisoners charged with murder, felony and other civil offences; and with respect to those accused of heresy to reform them by admonitions, but if they continued obstinate, to send them before the ordinary, that "they "might, by charitable instruction, be removed "from their naughty opinions, or be ordered "according to the laws provided in that be-"half."[10] In obedience to this circular, several of the preachers, with the most zealous of their disciples, were apprehended, and transmitted to the bishops, who, in general, declined the odious task of proceeding against them, on some occasions refusing, under different pretexts, to receive the prisoners, on others, suffering the charge to lie unheard, until it was forgotten. This reluctance of the prelates was remarked by the lord treasurer, the marquess of Winchester, who complained to the council, and procured a reprimand to be sent to Bonner, stating that the king and queen marvelled at his want of zeal

May 16.
May 24.

[10] Strype, iii. 213, 214. Burnet, ii. rec. 283. Burnet tells us, ii. 347. and Hume gravely repeats the information, c. xxxvii. that this was an attempt to introduce the Spanish inquisition. The difference was immense. The magistrates were here commanded to send spiritual offenders before the ordinary: it was the leading feature in the inquisition, that it took the cognizance of spiritual offences from the ordinary. In effect, the inquisition was not introduced into England before the reign of Elizabeth, when the high commission court was established on similar principles, and, in a short time, obtained and exercised the same powers as the Spanish inquisition. See those powers in Rymer, xvi. 291—297, 546—551.

and diligence, and requiring him to proceed according to law, for the advancement of God's glory, and the better preservation of the peace of the realm.[11] The prelates no longer hesitated: of the prisoners sent before them by the magistrates, many recanted, but many also refused to listen to their exhortations, and defied their authority. Conviction followed conviction: and the fate of one victim served only to encourage others to imitate his constancy. To describe the sufferings of each individual would fatigue the patience, and torture the feelings of the

[11] Fox, iii. 208. Strype, iii. 217. Burnet, ii. rec. 285. From this reprimand, I have been inclined to doubt, whether Bonner really deserved all the odium which has been heaped upon him. It certainly fell to his lot, as bishop of London, to condemn a great number of the gospellers: but I can find no proof that he was a persecutor from choice, or went in search of victims. They were sent to him by the council, or by commissioners appointed by the council. Fox, iii. 208. 210. 223. 317. 328. 344. 522. 588. 660. 723. Strype, iii. 239, 240: and as the law stood, he could not refuse to proceed, and deliver them over to the civil power. He was, however, careful in the proceedings to exact from the prisoners, and to put on record, the names of the persons by whom, and a statement of the reasons for which, they had been sent before him, Fox, iii 514. 593. Several of the letters from the council, shew that he stood in need of a stimulus to goad him to the execution of this unwelcome office; and he complained much that he was compelled to try prisoners, who were not of his own diocese. "I am," said he to Philpot, "right sorry for your trouble: neither would I you should "think that I am the cause thereof. I marvel that other men will "trouble me with their matters, but I must be obedient to my "betters. And I fear men speak of me otherwise than I deserve." Fox, iii. 462. Of the council, the most active in these prosecutions, either from choice, or from duty, was the marquess of Winchester. See Fox, iii. 203. 208. 317.

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reader; I shall therefore content myself with laying before them the last moments of Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, the most distinguished among the English reformers. During the preceding reign, they had concurred in sending the anabaptists to the stake; in the present they were compelled to suffer the same punishment, which they had so recently inflicted.

Account of Ridley.

The history of the archbishop has been sufficiently detailed in the preeeding pages. Ridley was born at Wilmontswick in Tynedale, had studied at Cambridge, Paris, and Louvain, and
1529. on his return to England, obtained preferment in the church by the favour of Cranmer. During the reign of Henry he imitated his patron, by conforming to the theologieal caprice of the monarch: but on the accession of Edward he openly avowed his sentiments, and gave his valuable aid to the metropolitan. His services
1547. were rewarded with the bishopric of Rochester, and, on the deprivation of Bonner, with that of
1550. London. In learning he was acknowledged superior to the other reformed prelates; and his refusal to avail himself of the permission to marry, though he condemned not the marriages of others, added to his reputation. Unfortunately his zeal for the new doctrines led him to support the treasonable projects of Northumberland; and his celebrated sermon against the claims of Mary and Elizabeth, furnished sufficient ground for his committal to the Tower.

There he had the weakness to betray his conscience by conforming to the ancient worship: but his apostacy was severely lashed by the pen of Bradford; and Ridley, by his speedy repentance and subsequent resolution, consoled and edified his afflicted brethren.[12] 1553.

Of Latimer.

Latimer, at the commencement of his career, displayed little of that strength of mind, or that stubbornness of opinion, which we expect to find in the man, who aspires to the palm of martyrdom. He first attracted notice by the violence of his declamations against Melancthon and the German reformers: then professed himself their disciple and advocate; and ended by publicly renouncing their doctrine, at the command of Cardinal Wolsey. Two years had not elapsed, before he was accused of re- 1529.
asserting what he had abjured. The archbishop excommunicated him for contumacy; and a tardy and reluctant abjuration saved him from 1531.
the stake. Again he relapsed; but appealed from the bishops to the king. Henry rejected 1532.
the appeal; and Latimer on his knees acknowledged his error, craved pardon of the convocation and promised amendment.[13] He had, however, powerful friends at court, Butts the king's physician, Cromwell the vicar general, and Anne Boleyn the queen consort. By the

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[12] "He never after polluted himself with that filthy dregs of anti-"christian service." Fox, iii. 836.

[13] Fox, iii. 379. 383. Wilk. conc. iii. 748, 749.

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last he was retained as chaplain. Henry heard him preach; and, delighted with the coarseness of his invectives against the papal authority,

1535. gave him the bishopric of Worcester. In this situation he was cautious not to offend by too open an avowal of his opinions; but the debate

1539. on the six articles, put his orthodoxy to the test; and with Cranmer he ventured to oppose the doctrine, but had not the good fortune with Cranmer to lull the suspicion of the royal theologian. He forfeited his bishopric; was confined in the Tower; and notwithstanding his submission to the superior judgment of Henry, was suffered to languish in prison, till the death of the king, and the accession of Edward, re-

1547. stored him to liberty, and recalled him to court. As preacher to the infant monarch, he lashed with apparent indifference the vices of all classes of men; inveighed with intrepidity against the abuses which already disfigured the new church; and painted in the most hideous, or most ludicrous colours, the practices of the ancient worship. his eloquence was bold and vehement, but poured forth in coarse and sarcastic language, and seasoned with quaint conceits, low jests and buffoonery. Such, however, as it was, it gratified the taste of his hearers; and the very boys in the streets, as he proceeded to preach, would follow at his heels, exclaiming, "Have at them, father Latimer, have at them." But it was his misfortune, as it was that of

Ridley, to abandon, on some occasions, theological for political subjects. During the reign of Edward, he treated in the pulpit the delicate question of the succession: and pronounced it better that God should take away the ladies Mary and Elizabeth, than that by marrying foreign princes, they should endanger the existence of the reformed church. The same zeal probably urged him to similar imprudence in the beginning of Mary's reign, when he was imprisoned by order of the council, on a charge of sedition.[14]

Disputation at Oxford. 1554. March 10.

From the Tower Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer, after the insurrection of Wyat, were conducted to Oxford, and ordered to confer on controverted points with the deputies of the convocation and of the two universities. The disputation was held in public on three successive days. Cranmer was severely pressed with passages from the fathers: Ridley maintained his former reputation: and Latimer excused himself on the plea of old age, of disuse of the Latin tongue, and of weakness of memory. In conclusion, Weston the moderator decided in favour of his own church; and the hall resounded with cries of "vincit veritas:" but the prisoners wrote in their own vindication to the queen, maintaining that they had been silenced by the noise, not by the arguments of their oppo-

April 14.

[14] Strype, iii. 131. Fox, iii. 385.

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nents.[15] Two days later they were again called
April 20. before Weston; and on their refusal to conform to the established church, were pronounced obstinate heretics. From that moment they lived in daily expectation of the fate which
1555. awaited them: but eighteen months were
Sept. 12. suffered to elapse before Brooks, bishop of Glocester, as papal sub-delegate, and Martin and Story as royal commissioners, arrived at Oxford, and summoned the archbishop before them. The provisions of the canon law were scrupulously observed; Cranmer underwent two
Sept. 16. examinations; and was then served, as a matter of form, with a citation to answer before the pontiff in the course of eighty days. He owed this distinction to his dignity of archbishop, and to his ordination, which had been performed according to the ancient pontifical: his compa-
Sept. 30. nions having appeared twice before the bishops of Lincoln, Glocester, and Bristol, as commissioners of the legate, and twice refused to renounce their opinions, were degraded from the
Oct. 1. priesthood, and delivered to the secular power. It was in vain that Soto, an eminent Spanish

[15] Cranmer, in his letter to the council, says: "I never knewe nor "heard of a more confused disputation in all my life. For albeit "there was one appoynted to dispute agaynste me, yet every man "spake hys mynde, and brought forth what hym liked without "order, and such hast was made, that no answer could be suffered to "be given." Letters of Martyrs in Eman. Coll. N°. 60. let. 3. This is an exact counterpart to the complaints of the catholics respecting similar disputations in the time of Edward.

divine, laboured to shake their resolution. Latimer refused to see him: Ridley was not convinced by his reasoning.[16] At the stake, to shorten their sufferings, bags of gunpowder were suspended from their necks. Latimer expired almost the moment that the fire was kindled: but Ridley was doomed to suffer the most excruciating torments. To hasten his death, his brother-in-law had almost covered him with faggots: the weight checked the progress of the flames, and the lower extremities of the victim were consumed, while the more vital parts remained untouched. One of the bystanders, hearing him repeatedly exclaim that "he could not burn," opened the pile: and an explosion of gunpowder almost immediately extinguished his life. It is said that the spectators were reconciled to these horrors, by the knowledge that every attempt had been previously made to save the victims from the stake:[17] the constancy with which they suffered, consoled the sorrow and animated the zeal of their disciples.

Execution of Ridley and Latimer. Oct. 16.

From the window of his cell the archbishop had seen his two friends led to execution. At the sight his resolution began to waver: and he let fall some hints of a willingness to relent, and

Recantations of Cranmer.

[16] Alter ne loqui quidem cum eo voluit; cum altero est locutus, sed nihil profecit. Pole to Philip, v. 47.

[17] De illis supplicium est sumptum, non illibenter, ut ferunt, spectante populo, cum cognitum fuisset nihil esse prætermissum, quod ad eorum salutem pertineret. Ibid.

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of a desire to confer with the legate.[18] But in a short time he recovered the tranquillity of his mind, and addressed, in defence of his doctrine, a long letter to the queen: which at her request

Nov. 6. was answered by cardinal Pole.[19] At Rome, on the expiration of the eighty days, the royal proctors demanded judgment: and Paul, in a private consistory, pronounced the usual sentence.[20]

Dec. 4. 1556. The intelligence of this proceeding awakened the terrors of the archbishop. He had not the fortitude to look death in the face. To save his life he feigned himself a convert to the established creed; openly condemned his past delinquency; and stifling the remorse of his conscience, in seven successive instruments abjured the faith which he had taught, and approved of that which he had opposed. He first presented his submission to the council: and as that submission was expressed in ambiguous language, replaced it by another in more ample form. When the bishops of London and Ely arrived to perform the ceremony of his degradation, he appealed from the judgment of the pope to a general council: but before the prelates left

Feb. 16. Oxford, he sent them two other papers; by the

[18] Is non ita se pertinacem ostendit, aitque se cupere mecum loqui. Ibid. Magnam spem initio dederat, eique veniam Polus ab ipsa regina impetraverat. Dudith, inter ep. Poli, i. 143.

[19] The letter and answer may be seen in Fox, iii. 563. Strype's Cranmer, App. 206. Le Grand, i. 289.

[20] Ex actis consistor, apud Quirini, v. 140. Fox, iii. 836. Much confusion has arisen from erroneous dates in Fox, iii. 544.

first of which he submitted to all the statutes of the realm, respecting the supremacy and other subjects; promised to live in quietness and obedience to the royal authority; and submitted his book on the sacrament to the judgment of the church and the next general council: in the second he professed to believe on all points, and particularly respecting the sacrament, as the catholic church then did believe, and always had believed from the beginning.[21] To Ridley and Latimer life had been offered, on condition that they should recant: but when the question was put, whether the same favour might be granted to Cranmer, it was decided by the council in the negative. His political offences, it was said, might be overlooked; but he had been the cause of the schism in the reign of Henry, and the author of the change of religion in the reign of Edward; and such offences required that he should suffer "for ensample's sake."[22] The writ was directed to the mayor or bailiffs of Oxford: the day of his execution was fixed: yet he cherished a hope of pardon: and in a fifth recantation, as full and explicit as the most zealous of his adversaries could wish, declared that he was not actuated by fear or favour, but that he abjured the erroneous doctrines which he had formerly maintained, for the discharge of his

Feb. 24.

[21] The submissions are in Strype, iii. 233, 234; the appeal in Fox, iii. 556.

[22] Strype's Cranmer, 355.

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own conscience, and the instruction of others.[23] This paper was accompanied with a letter to cardinal Pole, in which he begged a respite during a few days, that he might have leisure to give to the world a more convincing proof of his repentance, and might do away, before his death, the scandal given by his past conduct.[24] His prayer was cheerfully granted by the queen;

March 18. and Cranmer in a sixth confession acknowledged, that he had been a greater persecutor of the church than Paul, and wished that like Paul he might be able to make amends. He could not rebuild what he had destroyed: but as the penitent thief on the cross, by the testimony of his lips, obtained mercy, so he (Cranmer) trusted that by this offering of his lips, he should move the clemency of the Almighty. He was unworthy of favour: and worthy not only of temporal, but of eternal punishment. He had offended against king Henry and queen Catharine: he was the cause and author of the divorce, and,

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[23] This recantation is in Fox, iii. 559.

[24] Il envoya prier M. le cardinal Polus de differer pour quelques jours son execution, esperant que dieu l'inspireroit cependant: de quoi ceste royne et susdit Cardinal furent fort ayses, estimans que par l'exemple de sa repentance publique la religion en sera plus fortifiée en ce royaulme: ayant depuis faict une confession publicque et amende honorable et volontaire. Noailles, v. 319. There is an entry in the council book of Mar. 13, ordering the printers Rydall and Copland, to give up the printed copies of Cranmer's recantation to be burned. Burnet, iii. 249. Perhaps it was incorrectly printed: perhaps they waited for that which he said God would inspire him to make.

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in consequence, also of the evils which resulted from it. He had blasphemed against the sacrament, had sinned against heaven, and had deprived men of the benefits to be derived from the eucharist. In conclusion he conjured the pope to forgive his offences against the apostolic see, the king and queen to pardon his transgressions against them, the whole realm, the universal church, to take pity of his wretched soul, and God to look on him with mercy at the hour of his death.[25] He had undoubtedly flattered himself that this humble tone, these expressions of remorse, these cries for mercy, would move the heart of the queen. She, indeed, little suspecting the dissimulation which had dictated them, rejoiced at the conversion of the sinner: but she had also persuaded herself, or been persuaded by others, that public justice would not allow her to save him from the punishment to which he had been condemned.

His execution. March 21.

At length the fatal morning arrived: at an early hour, Garcina, a Spanish friar, who had frequently visited the prisoner since his condemnation, came, not to anounce a pardon, but to comfort and prepare him for the last trial. Entertaining no suspicion of his sincerity, Garcina submitted to his consideration a paper, which he advised him to read at the stake, as a public testimony of his repentance. It con-

[25] See it in Strype, iii. 235.

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sisted of five parts: a request that the spectators would pray with him; a form of prayer for himself; an exhortation to others to lead a virtuous life; a declaration of the queen's right to the crown; and a confession of faith, with a retractation of the doctrine in his book on theeucharist. Cranmer having dissembled so long, resolved to carry on the deception. He transcribed and signed the paper: and giving one copy to the Spaniard, retained the other for his own use. But when the friar was gone, he appears to have made a second copy, in which, entirely omitting the fourth article, the assertion of the queen's right, he substituted in lieu of the confession contained in the fifth, a disavowal of the six retractations, which he had already made.[26] Of his motives we can judge only from his conduct. Probably he now considered himself doubly

[26] Compare Fox, iii. 559, with Strype, iii. 236, from whom it will appear that the paper signed by Cranmer early on the morning of his death was in reality a seventh recantation. It was intended to be spoken at his execution, and was printed as such, having probably been sent back to the council, the moment it received his signature. As an excuse for the archbishop's weakness, his friends have said that he was seduced to make these recantations by the artful promises of persons sent from the court for that purpose. But this pretence is refuted by his last speech. He there makes no such apology for himself, but owns that his confessions proceeded from his wish to save his life. "I renounce and refuse them, as things written with "my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart; and "written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be." Strype, iii. 237. These last words would not have been employed, if any promise of mercy had been made: indeed, it is evident from Noailles (note 24), that he did not openly ask for it, though he hoped to obtain it.

armed. If a pardon were announced, he might take the benefit of it, and read the original paper: if not, by reading the copy, he would disappoint the expectations of his adversaries, and repair the scandal which he had given to his brethren. At the appointed hour the procession set forward; and, on account of the rain, halted at the church of St. Mary, where the sermon was preached by Dr. Cole. Cranmer stood on a platform opposite the pulpit, appearing, as a spectator writes, "the very image of "sorrow." His face was bathed in tears: his eyes were sometimes raised to heaven, sometimes fixed through shame on the earth. At the conclusion of the sermon he began to read his paper, and was heard with profound silence, till he came to the fifth article. But when he recalled all his former recantations, rejected the papal authority, and confirmed the doctrine contained in his book, he was interrupted by the murmurs and agitation of the audience. The lord Williams called to him to "remember "himself, and play the Christian." "I do," replied Cranmer; "it is now too late to dis- "semble. I must now speak the truth." As soon as order could be restored, he was conducted to the stake, declaring that he had never changed his belief: that his recantations had been wrung from him by the hope of life; and that, "as his "hand had offended by writing contrary to his "heart, it should be the first to receive its "punishment." When the fire was kindled, to

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the surprise of the spectators, he thrust his hand into the flame, exclaiming, "This hath offended." His sufferings were short: the flames rapidly ascended above his head; and he expired in a few moments. The catholics consoled their disappointment by invectives against his insincerity and falsehood; the protestants defended his memory by maintaining that his constancy at the stake had atoned for his apostacy in the prison.[27]

Conduct of Pole.

Historians are divided with respect to the part which Pole acted during these horrors. Most are willing to acquit him entirely; a few, judging from the influence which he was supposed to possess, have allotted to him a considerable share of the blame. In a confidential letter to the cardinal of Augsburgh he has unfolded to us his own sentiment without reserve. He will not, he says, deny that there may be men, so addicted to the most pernicious errors themselves, and so apt to seduce others, that they may justly be put to death: for the same purpose as we amputate a limb to preserve the whole body. But this is an extreme case: and, even when it happens, every gentler remedy should be applied before such punishment is inflicted. In general lenity is to be preferred to severity: and the bishops should remember that they are fathers as well as judges, and ought to shew the tenderness of parents, even when they

[27] See a most interesting narrative by an eye-witness, in Strype's Cranmer, 384.

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are compelled to punish. This has always been his opinion; it was that of the colleagues who presided with him at the council of Trent, and also of the prelates who composed that assembly.[28] His conduct in England was conformable to these professions. On the deprivation of Cranmer he was appointed archbishop; and his consecration took place on the day after the death of his predecessor.[29] From that moment the persecution ceased in the diocese of Canterbury. Pole found sufficient exercise for his zeal in reforming the clergy, repairing the churches, and re-establishing the ancient discipline. His severity was exercised against the dead rather than the living; and his delegates, when they visited the universities in his name, ordered the bones of Bucer and Fagius, two foreign divines, who had taught the new doctrines at Cambridge, to be taken up and burnt. But his moderation displeased the more zealous: they called in question his orthodoxy: and, in the last year of his life (perhaps to refute the calumny) he issued a commission for the prosecution of heretics within his diocese. Five persons were condemned: four months afterwards they suffered, but at a time when the cardinal lay on his death-bed, and was probably ignorant of their fate.[30]

1555. Dec. 11.

1556. March 22.

March 28.

July 7.

Nov. 10.

[28] Pol. ep. iv. 156.

[29] It has been said that Pole hastened the death of Cranmer, that he might get possession of the archbishopric. But the life of Cranmer, after his deprivation, could be no obstacle. The fact is, that Pole procured several respites for Cranmer, and thus prolonged his life. Noailles, v. 319. Dudith, inter ep. Poli, i. 43.

[30] Wilk. Con. iv. 173, 174. Fox, iii. 750.

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Conduct of the protestants.

It had at first been hoped that a few of these barbarous exhibitions would silence the voices of the preachers, and check the diffusion of their doctrines. In general they produced conformity to the established worship; but they also encouraged hypocrisy and perjury. It cannot be doubted that among the higher classes there were some who retained an attachment to the doctrines which they professed under Edward, and to which they afterwards returned under Elizabeth. Yet it will be useless to seek among the names of the sufferers for a single individual of rank, opulence, or importance.[31] All of this description embraced, or pretended to embrace, the ancient creed: the victims of persecution, who dared to avow their real sentiments, were found only in the lower walks of life. Of the reformed clergy a few suffered; some, who were already in prison, and some whose zeal prompted them to brave the authority of the law. Others, who aspired not to the crown of martyrdom, preferred to seek an asylum in foreign climes. The Lutheran protestants refused to receive

[31] Perhaps I should except sir John Cheke, preceptor to the late king, and to many of the nobility. Yet I suspect that his incarceration was for some other cause than religion, as he was apprehended and brought from the Low Countries in company with sir Peter Carew. However, Feckenham, dean of St. Paul's, prevailed on him to conform: and, to shew his sincerity, he persuaded, after several discussions, twenty-eight other prisoners to follow his example, and sat on the bench at the trial of some others. He died the next year, if we may believe the reformed writers, of remorse for his apostacy. See Strype, iii. 315. Rec. 186—189, and a letter from Priuli inter ep. Poli, v. 346.

them, because they were heretics, rejecting the corporeal presence in the sacrament;[32] but they met with a cordial welcome from the disciples of Calvin and Zwinglius, and obtained permission to open churches in Strasburgh, Frankfort, Basle, Geneva, Arau, and Zurich. Soon, however, the demon of discord interrupted the harmony of the exiles. Each followed his own judgment: some retained with pertinacity the book of common prayer, and the articles of religion published under Edward; others, deriving new lights from the society of foreign religionists, demanded a form of service less defiled with superstition; and, with this view, adopted in their full extent the rigid principles of the Genevan theology. Dissension, reproaches, and schisms divided the petty churches abroad, and from them extended to the reformed ministers at home. The very prisons became theatres of controversy; force was occasionally required to restrain the passions of the contending parties: and the men who lived in the daily expectation of being summoned to the stake for their denial of the ancient creed, found leisure to condemn and revile each other for difference of opinion respecting the use of habits and ceremonies, and the abstruse mysteries of grace and predestination.[33]

[32] Vociferantem martyres Anglicos esse martyres diaboli. Melancthon apud Heylin, 250. Pet. Martyr, ibid.

[33] Phœnix, ii. 44.

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Number of the sufferers.

The persecution continued till the death of Mary. Sometimes milder counsels seemed to prevail; and on one occasion all the prisoners were discharged on the easy condition of taking an oath to be true to God and the queen.[34] But these intervals were short: and, after some suspense, the spirit of intolerance was sure to resume the ascendency. Then new commissions were issued by the crown.[35] The magistrates were careful to fulfil their instructions; and the council urged the bishops "to reclaim the pri-"soners, or to deal with them according to law." The reformed writers have described, in glowing colours, the sufferings, and sought to multiply the number of the victims; while the catholics have maintained that the reader should distrust the exaggerations of men heated with enthusiasm and exasperated by oppression; and that from the catalogue of the martyrs should be expunged the names of all who were condemned as felons or traitors, or who died peaceably in their beds, or who survived the publication of their martyrdom, or who would for their heterodoxy have been sent to the stake by the reformed prelates themselves had they been in possession of the power.[36] Yet these deductions will take but little from the infamy of the mea-

[34] Strype, iii. 307. Fox, iii. 660.

[35] See similar commissions under Edward, Rymer, xv. 181—183. 250—252. Many were also issued under Elizabeth.

[36] See the second part of note (E).

sure. After every allowance it will be found that, in the space of four years, almost two hundred persons perished in the flames for religious opinion; a number at the contemplation of which the mind is struck with horror, and learns to bless the legislation of a more tolerant age, in which dissent from established forms, though in some countries still punished with civil disabilities, is nowhere liable to the penalties of death.

Provocation given to Mary.

If any thing could be urged in extenuation of these cruelties, it must have been the provocation given by the reformers. The succession of a catholic sovereign had deprived them of office and power; had suppressed the English service, the idol of their affections; and had re-established the ancient worship, which they deemed antichristian and idolatrous. Disappointment embittered their zeal; and enthusiasm sanctified their intemperance. They heaped on the queen, her bishops, and her religion, every indecent and irritating epithet which language could supply. Her clergy could not exercise their functions without danger to their lives: a dagger was thrown at one priest in the pulpit; a gun was discharged at another; and several wounds were inflicted on a third, while he administered the communion in his church. The chief supporters of the treason of Northumberland, the most active among the adherents of Wyat, professed the reformed creed: an im-

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postor was suborned to personate Edward VI.,[37] a pretended spirit published denunciations against the queen, from a hole in a wall: some congregrations prayed for her death: tracts filled with libellous and treasonable matter was transmitted from the exiles in Germany;[38] and successive insurrections were planned by the fugitives in France. It is not improbable that such excesses would have considerable influence with statesmen who might deem it expedient to suppress sedition by prosecution for heresy; but I am inclined to believe that the queen herself was not actuated so much by motives of policy, as of conscience; that she had imbibed the same intolerant opinion, which Cranmer and Ridley laboured to instil into the young mind of Edward: "that, as Moses ordered blasphemers to "be put to death, so it was the duty of a chris-"tian prince, and more so of one, who bore the "title of defender of the faith, to eradicate the "cockle from the field of God's church, to cut "out the gangrene, that it might not spread to "the sounder parts."[39] In this principle both

[37] His name was Fetherstone. For the first offence he was publicly whipt; for the repetition of it was executed as a traitor. Stow, 626. 628. Noailles says falsely, that he was torn to pieces by four horses, as traitors were sometimes in France, v. 318.

[38] If scurrility and calumny form the merit of a libel, it will be difficult to find any thing to rival these publications. The reader will meet with some samples in Strype, iii. 251, 252. 328. 388. 410. 460.

[39] Thus Edward was made to say: Etsi regibus quidem omnibus

parties seem to have agreed: the only difference between them, regarded its application, as often as it affected themselves.

Negociation between France and Spain.

But it is now time to turn from these cruelties to the affairs of state. The French ambassador, when he congratulated Philip on the marriage, had been ordered to express an ardent wish for the continuation of the amity between England and France: and the new king, aware of the declaration of Henry, that he had no league but that of friendship with Mary, coldly replied, that he should never think of drawing the nation into a war, as long as it was for its interest to preserve peace. This ambiguous answer alarmed the French cabinet: it was expected that England would in a short time make common cause with Spain and the Netherlands against France; and Noailles was informed that his sovereign had no objection to a negociation for a general peace, provided the first motion

.....nobis tamen qui fidei defensor peculiari quodam titulo vocitamur, maximæ præ cæteris curæ esse debet, to eradicate the cockle, &c. Rym. xv. 182. 250. To the same purpose Elizabeth in a commission for the burning of heretics, to sir Nicholas Bacon, says "they have "been justly declared heretics, and therefore, as corrupt members to "be cut off from the rest of the flock of Christ, lest they should "corrupt others professing the true christian faith,....we, therefore, "according to regal function and office, minding the execution of "justice in this behalf, require you to award and make out our writ "of execution," &c....Rym. xv. 740. And again, Nos igitur ut zelator justitiæ et fidei catholicæ defensor, volentesque....hujusmodi hæreses et errores ubique (quantum in nobis est) eradicare et extirpare, ac hæreticos sic convictos animadversione condigna puniri, &c. Id. xv. 741.

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did not appear to originate from him. Mary offered her mediation: Pole and Gardiner solicited the concurrence of Charles and Henry; and the two monarchs, after much hesitation, gave their consent. But pride, or policy, induced them to affect an indifference which they did not feel: many weeks passed in useless attempts by each, to draw from the other some intimation of the terms to which he would consent: and as many more were lost in deciding on the persons of the negociators, because etiquette required that all employed by the one should be of equal rank with those employed by his opponent. At length the congress opened at Marque, within the English pale; where the cardinal, Gardiner, Arundel, and Paget appeared as the representatives of Mary, the mediating sovereign. It was soon found that a treaty was impracticable: Charles would not abandon the interests of his ally Philibert, duke of Savoy, and Henry would not restore the dominions of that prince, unless he were to receive Milan from the emperor. Yet the necessities of the belligerent powers imperiously required a cessation of war: and the English ministers, at the conclusion of the congress, returned with the persuasion, that notwithstanding the insuperable objections to a peace, it would not be difficult to conclude a truce for several years.[40]

1555. May 22.

June 8.

[40] See the dispatches of Noailles through the whole of vol. iv.

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Queen's supposed pregnancy.

In the mean while, the emperor, worn out with disease, and wearied with the cares of government, had repeatedly written to his son to return to Flanders: but the queen, believing herself pregnant, extorted from him a promise not to leave her, till after her expected delivery. The delusion was not confined to herself and her husband: even the females of her family, and her medical attendants, entertained the same opinion. Preparations were made: public prayers were ordered for her safety, and that of her child: her physicians were kept in daily attendance; and even ambassadors were named May 28. to announce the important intelligence to foreign courts. Week after week passed away: still Mary's expectations were disappointed; and it was generally believed that she was in the same situation with the lady Ambrose Dudley, who very recently had mistaken for pregnancy a state of disease. But the midwife, contrary to her own conviction, thought proper to encourage the hopes of the king and queen: and on a supposition of miscalculation of time, two more months were suffered to elapse before the delusion was removed. Sometimes it was rumoured that Mary had died in child-bed: sometimes that she had been delivered of a son: her enemies indulged in sarcasms, epigrams, and lampoons; and the public mind was kept in a constant state of suspense and expectation. At Aug. 4. last, the royal pair, relinquishing all hope, pro-

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Aug. 26. Sept. 4.

ceeded in state from Hampton court through London to Greenwich; whence Philip, after a short stay, departed for Flanders. He left the queen with every demonstration of attachment; and recommended her in strong terms to the care of cardinal Pole.[41]

Death of Gardiner.

Mary consoled her grief for the absence of her husband, by devoting the more early part of each day to practices of charity and devotion, the afternoon to affairs of state, to which she gave such attention as in a short time injured her health. The king, though occupied by the war with France, continued to exercise considerable influence in the government of the kingdom. He maintained a frequent correspondence with the ministers; and no appointment was made, no measure was carried into execution, without his previous knowledge and consent.[42] Before his departure, he had reluctantly acquiesced in the wish of the queen, who, considering the impoverished state of the church, judged it her duty to restore to it such ecclesiastical property, as during the late reigns had been vested in the crown. She had renounced the supremacy, could she retain the wealth which resulted from

[41] Noailles, iv. 331. 334. v. 12. 50. 77. 83. 99. 126. Michele's memoir to the senate, MSS. Barberini, 1208. The cabinet, after his departure, consisted of the cardinal, whenever he could and would attend (for he objected to meddle in temporal matters) the chancellor and treasurer, the earls of Arundel and Pembroke, the bishop of Ely and lord Paget, Rochester, and Petre, the secretary. See the instrument of appointment in Burnet, iii. rec. 256.

[42] Poli ep. v. 41. 44.

the assumption of that authority? She saw the clergy suffering under the pressure of want, was she not bound to furnish relief out of that portion of their property which still remained in her hands? Her ministers objected the amount of her debts, the poverty of the exchequer, and the necessity of supporting the dignity of the crown: but she replied, that "she set more "by the salvation of her soul, than by ten such "crowns." On the opening of the parliament, to relieve the apprehensions of the other possessors of church property, a papal bull was read, confirming the grant already made by the legate, and for greater security, excepting it from the operation of another bull recently issued: after which Gardiner explained to the two houses, the wants of the clergy and of the crown, and the solicitude of the queen to make adequate provision for both. He spoke that day and the next, with an ability and eloquence that excited universal applause.[43] But the exertion was too great for his debilitated frame. His health had long been on the decline: at his return from the house on the second day, he repaired to his chamber, and having lingered three weeks, expired. His death was a subject of deep regret Nov. 12.

[43] His duobus diebus ita mihi visus est non modo seipsum iis rebus superasse, quibus cæteros superare solet, ingenio, eloquentia, prudentia, pietate, sed etiam ipsas sui corporis vires. Pole to Philip, v. 46. From this and similar passages in the letters of Pole, I cannot believe that that jealousy existed between him and Gardiner, which it has pleased some historians to suppose.

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to Mary, who lost in him a most able, faithful, and zealous servant; but it was hailed with joy by the French ambassador, the factious and the reformers, who considered him as the chief support of her government.[44] During his illness he edified all around him by his piety and resignation, often observing, "I have sinned with "Peter, but have not yet learned to weep bit- "terly with Peter."[45] By his will he bequeathed all his property to his royal mistress, with a request that she would pay his debts, and provide for his servants. It proved but an inconsiderable sum; though his enemies had accused him of having amassed between thirty and forty thousand pounds.[46]

Mary restores the church property.

The indisposition of the chancellor did not prevent the ministers from introducing a bill for a subsidy into the lower house. It was the first aid that Mary had asked of her subjects: but Noailles immediately began his intrigues, and procured four of the best speakers among the commons, to oppose it in every stage. It had been proposed to grant two fifteenths, with a subsidy of four shillings in the pound: but, whether it were owing to the hirelings of Noailles, or to the policy of the ministers, who demanded

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[44] See note (E.)

[45] "He desired that the passion of our Saviour might be redde unto "him, and when they came to the denial of St. Peter, he bid them "stay there, for (saythe he) negavi cum Petro, exivi cum Petro, sed "nondum flevi amare cum Petro." Wardword, 48. [46] Ibid, 206.

more than they meant to accept, Mary, by message, declined the two fifteenths, and was content with a subsidy of less amount than had been originally proposed.[47] Nov. 2.

The death of Gardiner interrupted the plans of the council. That minister had undertaken to procure the consent of parliament to the queen's plan of restoring the church property vested in the crown; now Mary herself assumed his office, and sending for a deputation from each house, explained her wish, and the reasons on which it was grounded. In the lords, the bill passed with only two dissentient voices; in the commons it had to encounter considerable opposition, but was carried by a majority of 193 to 126. By it the tenths and first fruits, the rectories, benefices appropriate, glebe lands, and tithes annexed to the crown, since the twentieth of Henry VIII. producing a yearly revenue of about 60,000*l.* were resigned by the

[47] The subsidy was of two shillings in the pound on lands; eight pence on goods, to ten pounds; sixteen pence ou goods above ten pounds. St. 2 and 3 Philip and Mary, c. 23: but those who paid for lands were not rated for their personalties. Lord Talbot tells his father, that "the common housse wold have graunted hurr ii fyftenes," but that she, "of hurr lyberalyte, refusyd it, and said, she wold not "take no more of them at that tyme." Lodge i. 207. "She gave "thanks for the two fifteenths, and was contented to refuse them." Journal of Commons, p. 43. "We have forborne to ask any "fifteenths." The queen to the earl of Bath, in Mr. Gage's elegant "History and Antiquities of Hengrave," p. 154. Yet Noailles asserts, that the fifteenths were refused by parliament, and takes to himself the merit of the refusal, v. 185. 190. 252. I often suspect that this ambassador deceived his master intentionally.

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queen, and placed at the disposal of the cardinal, for the augmentation of small livings, the support of preachers, and the furnishing of exhibitions to scholars in the universities; but subject, at the same time, to all the pensions and corrodies, with which they had been previously encumbered.[48] In consequence of this cession, Pole ordered that the exaction of the first fruits should immediately cease: that livings of twenty marks and under, should be relieved from the annual payment of tenths; that livings of a greater value should, for the present, contribute only one twentieth toward the charges with which the clergy were burdened; and that the patronage of the rectories and vicarages, previously vested in the crown, should revert to the bishops of the respective dioceses, who, in return, should contribute proportionably to a present of seven thousand pounds to be made to the king and queen.[49]

[48] Pole, v. 46. 51. 53. 56. Some writers have said, that the queen sought to procure an act, compelling the restoration of church property, in whatever hands it might be. The contrary is evident, from the whole tenor of Pole's correspondence.

[49] Wilk. Con. 153. 175. 177. Noailles says, that several bills proposed by the court were rejected, v. 252: yet only one of them is mentioned in the journals of either house, "against such as had "departed the realm without leave, or should contemptuously make "their abode there." It was unanimously passed by the lords, but was lost on a division in the commons. Journals, 46. I may add, that Burnet ii. 322, represents Story as opposing, in this parliament, "licences" from Rome. The journals shew, that the "licences" were monopolies, granted by the queen, her father, and her brother. Journals of Commons, p. 44.

At the same time, that the monastic bodies might not complain of neglect, Mary re-established the grey friars at Greenwich, the Carthusians at Sheen, and the Brigittins at Sion; three houses, the former inhabitants of which had provoked the vengeance of Henry, by their conscientious opposition to his innovations.

The dean and prebendaries of Westminster retired on pensions, and yielded their church to a colony of twenty-eight Benedictine monks, all of them beneficed clergymen, who had quitted rich livings, to embrace the monastic institute.[50] In addition, the house of the knights of St. John arose from its ruins, and the dignity of lord prior was conferred on sir Thomas Tresham. But these renewed establishments fell again on the queen's demise: her hospital at the Savoy was alone suffered to remain. She had endowed it with abbey lands; and the ladies of the court, at her recommendation or command, had furnished it with necessaries.

Dudley's conspiracy.

While Gardiner lived, his vigilance had checked the intrigues of the factious; his death emboldened them to renew their machinations against the government. Secret meetings were now held; defamatory libels on the king and

[50] Feckenham was again appointed abbot, but only for three years. For the cardinal disapproved of the ancient custom of abbots for life; and had sent to Italy for two monks, who might establish in England the discipline observed in the more rigid communities abroad. Priuli to Beccatello, in Pole's ep. v. app. 347.

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queen were found scattered in the streets, in the palace, and in both houses of parliament; and reports were circulated that Mary, hopeless of issue to succeed her, had determined to settle the crown on her husband, after her decease. If we may believe her counsellors, there was no foundation for these rumours; she had never hinted any such design: nor if she had, would she have found a man to second it.[51] But it was for the interest of the French monarch, that the falsehood should be believed; and Noailles made every effort to support its credit. Under the auspices of that intriguing minister, and by the agency of Freitville, a French refugee, a new conspiracy was formed, which had for its object to depose Mary, and to raise Elizabeth to the throne. The conduct of the enterprise was intrusted to sir Henry Dudley, a relation and partisan of the attainted duke of Northumberland, whose services had been purchased by the French
Dec. 16. king with the grant of a considerable pension. The connexions of Dudley with the chiefs of the gospellers, and of the discontented in the southern countries, furnished well-grounded hopes of success: assurances had been obtained of the willing co-operation of Elizabeth and her friends; and the French cabinet had engaged to convey to England, at the shortest warning, the earl of Devonshire, now on his road from

[51] Noailles, v. 171. 242. 365.

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1556. Feb. 3.

Brussels to Italy. To arrange the minor details and to procure the necessary supplies, Dudley, in disguise, sailed to the coast of Normandy, and was followed by three more of the conspirators; but they arrived at a most inauspicious moment, just when the king had, in opposition to the remonstrances of his minister Montmorency, concluded a truce for five years with Philip. Henry was embarrassed by their presence. Ashamed to appear as an accomplice in a conspiracy against a prince, with whom he was now on terms of amity, he ordered Dudley and his companions to keep themselves concealed, and advised their associates in England, particularly the lady Elizabeth, to suspend, for some time, the projected insurrection. Events, he observed, would follow, more favourable to the success of the enterprise; at present it was their best policy to remain quiet, and to elude suspicion by assuming the mask of loyalty.[52]

Feb. 7.

Attempt to rob the treasury.

But dilatory councils accorded not with the desperate circumstances of Kingston, Throckmorton, Udal, Staunton, and the other conspirators; who, rejecting the advice of the French

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[52]. Noailles, 232. 234. 254, 255, 256. 262, 263. 303. That the lady Elizabeth was concerned in it, seems placed beyond dispute, by the following passage in the instructions to Noailles, after the conclusion of the truce; et surtout eviter que madame Elizabeth ne se remue en sorte du monde pour entreprendre ce que m'escrivez: car ce seroit tout gaster, et perdre le fruict qu'ilz peulvent attendre de leurs desseings, qu'il est besoign traicter et mesner à la longue. Ibid. 299.

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ally, determined to carry into immediate execution the first part of the original plot. To excite or foment the public discontent, they had reported that Philip devoted to Spanish purposes, the revenue of the English crown: though at the same time they knew that, on different occasions, he had brought an immense mass of treasure into the kingdom,[53] of which, one portion had been distributed in presents, another had served to defray the expenses of the marriage, and the remainder, amounting to fifty thousand pounds, was still lodged in the royal exchequer.

March. A plan was devised to surprise the guard, and to obtain possession of this money: but one of the conspirators proved a traitor; of the others, several who had been apprehended by his means, paid the forfeit of their lives; and many sought and obtained an asylum in France. The lord Clinton, who had been commissioned to congratulate with Henry on the conclusion of the truce, immediately demanded the fugitives, as "traitors, heretics, and outlaws." Mary had recently gratified the king in a similar request: he could not, in decency, return a refusal, but

[53] On one occasion, twenty-seven chests of bullion, each above a yard long, were conveyed to the Tower in twenty carts: on another, ninety-nine horses and two carts were employed for a similar purpose. Stow, 626. Heylin, 209. Persons assures us, that Philip defrayed all the expenses of the combined fleet which escorted him to England, and of the festivities in honour of the marriage. Wardword, 108. And the Venetian ambassador informs the senate, that the report of his spending the money of the nation was false: he had spent immense sums of his own. Barber, MSS. No. 1208.

replied, that he knew nothing of the persons in question: if they had been received in France, it must have been through respect to the queen, whose subjects they had stated themselves to be: all that he could do, was to make inquiry, and to order that the moment they were discovered, they should be delivered to the resident ambassador. With this illusory answer lord Clinton returned.[54]

Elizabeth is accused.

Among the prisoners apprehended in England were Peckham and Werne, two officers in the household of Elizabeth; from whose confessions much was elicited to implicate the princess herself. She was rescued from danger by the interposition of Philip, who, despairing of issue by his wife, foresaw that, if Elizabeth were removed out of the way, the English crown at the decease of Mary, would be claimed by the young queen of Scots, the wife of the dauphin of France. It was for his interest to prevent a succession, which would add so considerably to the power of his rival, and for that purpose to preserve the life of the only person, who, with any probability of success, could oppose the claim of the Scottish queen. By his orders the inquiry was dropped; and Mary, sending her sister a ring in token of her affection, professed

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[54] Stow, 628. Noailles, 313. 327. 347. 353. The object of the French king was d'entretenir Duddelay doulcement et secrettement, pour s'en servir, s'il en est de besoign, lui donnant moyen d'entretenir aussy par delà les intelligences. Ibid. 310.

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to believe that Elizabeth was innocent, and that her officers had presumed to make use of her name without her authority. They were executed as traitors; and the princess gladly accepted, in their place, sir Thomas Pope, and Robert Gage, at the recommendation of the council.[55]

Cleobury's plot. June.

Many weeks did not elapse before the exiles in France made a new attempt to excite an insurrection. There was among them a young man of the name of Cleobury, whose features bore a strong resemblance to those of the earl of Devonshire. Having been instructed in the character, which he had undertaken to act, he was landed on the coast of Sussex, assumed the name of the earl, spoke of the princess as privy to his design, and took the opportunity to proclaim in a church, "the lady Elizabeth queen, "and her beloved bed-fellow, lord Edward "Courteney, king." There was supposed to exist a kind of magic in the name of Courteney; but the result dissipated the illusion. The people, as soon as they had recovered from their surprise, apprehended Cleobury, who suffered, at Bury, the penalty of his treason. Two months later the real earl of Devonshire died of an ague at Padua.

July.

Elizabeth wishes to escape to France.

Though Cleobury had employed the name of Elizabeth, we have no reason to charge her with participation in the imposture. The council

[55] MS. Life of the dutchess of Feria, 154. Strype, 297, 298. Philopator, Resp. ad edictum, p. 70.

pretended, at least, to believe her innocent; and she herself, in a letter to Mary, expressed her detestation of all such attempts, wishing, that "there were good surgeons for making anato- "mies of hearts; then whatsoever others "should subject by malice, the queen would be "sure of by knowledge: and the more such "misty clouds should offuscate the clear light "of her truth, the more her tried thoughts "would glister to the dimming of their hidden "malice."[56] Agitated, however, by her fears, whether they arose from the consciousness of guilt or from the prospect of future danger, she resolved to seek an asylum in France, of which she had formerly received an offer from Henry, through the hands of Noailles.[57] With the motives of the king we are not acquainted. He may have wished to create additional embarrassment to Mary, perhaps to have in his power the only rival of his daughter-in-law, the queen of Scotland. But Noailles was gone: and his brother and successor, the bishop of Acqs, appears to have received no instructions on the subject. When the countess of Sussex waited on him in disguise, and enquired whether he possessed the means of transporting the princess

Aug. 2.

[56] Stow, 628. The letters are in Burnet, ii. rec. 314. Strype, iii. 335. 338. In the correspondence of Noailles with his sovereign, to encourage these conspirators, is elegantly termed, keeping la puce à l'oreille de la royne. Noailles, 309. 329.

[57] Camden, Apparat. 20.

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in safety to France, he expressed the strongest disapprobation of the project, and advised Elizabeth to learn wisdom from the conduct of her sister. Had Mary, after the death of Edward, listened to those who wished her to take refuge with the emperor in Flanders, she would still have remained in exile. If Elizabeth hoped to ascend the throne, she must never leave the shores of England. The countess returned with a similar message, and received again the same advice. A few years later the ambassador boasted, that Elizabeth was indebted to him for her crown.[58]

Her objection to marry.

Had the princess been willing to marry, she might easily have extricated herself from these embarrassments; but from policy or inclination she obstinately rejected every proposal. As presumptive heir to the crown, she was sought by different princes; and, as her sincerity in the profession of the ancient faith was generally questioned, men were eager to see her united, the catholics to a catholic, the protestants to a protestant husband. Her suitors professing the reformed doctrines, were the king of Denmark for his son, and the king of Sweden for himself. The envoy of the latter reached her house in disguise; but he was refused admission, and referred to the queen, whom Elizabeth assured, that she had never heard the name of his master

[58] See his letter of Dec. 2, 1570, to Du Haillant, in Noailles, i. 334.

before, and hoped never to hear it again; adding, that as, in the reign of Edward, she had refused several offers, so she persisted in the same resolution of continuing, with her sister's good pleasure, a single woman. The catholic prince, in whose favour much interest had been made, was Philibert, duke of Savoy, whom Philip sought to indemnify for the loss of his hereditary states by the reversion of the English crown. Mary approved of the match, as the probable means of securing the permanency of the catholic worship after her death; but she refused to force the inclinations of Elizabeth. To the counsellors and divines, who urged her at Philip's request to employ authority, she answered, that it was essential to marriage that it should be free, and that her conscience forbade her to compel her sister to wed the man of whom she disapproved.[59] From that period till the death of Mary, the princess resided, apparently at liberty, but in reality under the eyes of watchful guardians, in her house at Hatfield, and occasionally at court. Her friends complained, that her allowance did not enable her to keep up the dignity of second person in the realm. But it would have been folly in the queen to have supplied Elizabeth with the means of multiplying her adherents: and she was, at the same time, anxious to reduce the enormous debt of the

[59] Camden, 20. Burnet, ii. rec. 325. Strype, iii. 317, 318. rec. 189.

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crown. With this view she had adopted a severe system of retrenchment in her own household: it could not be expected she should encourage expense in the household of her sister.

Troubles of the queen.

But whatever were the mental sufferings of Elizabeth, they bore no proportion to those of Mary. 1°. The queen was perfectly aware that her popularity, which at first had seated her on the throne, had long been on the decline. She had incurred the hatred of the merchants and country gentlemen by the loans of money, which her poverty had compelled her to require; her economy, laudable as it was in her circumstances, had earned for her the reproach of parsimony from some, and of ingratitude from others; the enemies of her marriage continued to predict danger to the liberties of England from the influence of her Spanish husband; the protestants, irritated by persecution, ardently wished for another sovereign; the most malicious reports, the most treasonable libels, even hints of assassination, were circulated; and men were found to misrepresent to the public, all her actions, as proceeding from interested or anti-national motives. 2°. She began to fear for the permanency of that religious worship, which it had been the first wish of her heart to re-establish. She saw, that the fires of Smithfield had not subdued the obstinacy of the dissenters from the established creed; she knew that in the higher classes, few had any other religion than

their own interest or convenience; and she had reason to suspect, that the presumptive heir to the crown, though she had long professed herself a catholic, still cherished in her breast those principles which she had imbibed in early youth. 3°. On Elizabeth herself she could not look without solicitude. It was natural that the wrongs which Catharine of Arragon had suffered from the ascendency of Anne Boleyn, should beget a feeling of hostility between their respective daughters. But the participation of Elizabeth in the first insurrection had widened the breach: and the frequent use made of her name by every subsequent conspirator, served to confirm the suspicions of one sister, and to multiply the apprehensions of the other. In the eye of Mary, Elizabeth was a bastard and a rival: in that of Elizabeth, Mary was a jealous and vindictive sovereign. To free her mind of this burden, the queen had lately thought of two expedients: either to send Elizabeth to reside in Philip's dominions abroad, or to procure an act of parliament declaring her illegitimate and incapable of the succession: but the king would consent to no measure which might strengthen the claim of the dauphiness to the crown. Mary acquiesced in the will of her husband; and from that time, whenever Elizabeth resided at court, treated her in private with kindness, and in public with distinction. Yet it was thought, that there was in this more of shew than of reality; and that

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doubt and fear, jealousy and resentment, still lurked within her bosom. Lastly, the absence of her husband was a source of daily disquietude. If she loved him, Philip had deserved it by his kindness and attention. To be deprived of his society was of itself a heavy affliction; but it was most severely felt when she stood in need of advice and support.[60] Gardiner, whose very name had awed the factious, was no more. His place had indeed been supplied by Heath, archbishop of York, a learned and upright prelate; but, though he might equal her predecessor in abilities and zeal, he was less known, and therefore less formidable, to the adversaries of the government. It is not surprising, that, in such circumstances, the queen should wish for the presence and protection of her husband. She importuned him by long and repeated letters; she sent the lord Paget to urge him to return without delay. But Philip, to whom his father had now resigned all his dominons in Spain, Italy, and the Netherlands, was overwhelmed with business of more importance to him than the tranquillity of his wife, or of her government; and, to pacify her mind, he made her frequent promises, the fulfilment of which it was

[60] All these particulars respecting Elizabeth, and the troubles of Mary, are taken from the interesting memoir of Michele, the Venetian ambassador. Lansdowne MSS. 840. B. fol. 155. 157. 160. Noailles represents her as afflicted with jealousy; but this writer declares the contrary.

always in his power to elude. He had lately seen with alarm the elevation to the pontifical dignity of the cardinal Caraffa, by birth a Neapolitan, who had always distinguished himself by his opposition to the Spanish ascendency in his native country, and on that account had suffered occasional affronts from the resentment of Ferdinand and Charles. The symptoms of dissension soon appeared. Philip suspected a design against his kingdom of Naples; and the new pontiff supported with menaces, what he deemed the rights of the holy see. The negociations between the two powers, their mutual complaints and recriminations, are subjects foreign from this history; but the result was a strong suspicion in the mind of Paul, that the Spaniards sought to remove him from the popedom, and a resolution on his part to place himself under the protection of France. It chanced that about midsummer, in the year 1556, dispatches were intercepted at Terracina, from Garcilasso della Vega, the Spanish agent in Rome, to the duke of Alva, the viceroy of Naples, describing the defenceless state of the papal territory, and the ease with which it might be conquered before an army could be raised for its defence. The suspicion of the pontiff was now confirmed: he ordered the chiefs of the Spanish faction in Rome to be arrested as traitors; and instructed his officers to proceed against Philip for a breach of the feudal tenure, by which he

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held the kingdom of Naples. But the viceroy advanced with a powerful army as far as Tivoli; Paul, to save his capital, submitted to solicit an armistice; and the war would have been terminated without bloodshed, had not the duke of Guise, at the head of a French army, hastened into Italy. Henry had secretly concluded a league with the pope soon after his accession to the pontificate; he violated that treaty by consenting to the truce with Philip for five years: and now he broke the truce, in the hope of humbling the pride of the Spanish monarch, by placing a French prince on the throne of Naples and investing another with the ducal coronet of Milan.[61]

Feb. 5.

Stafford's plot.

It seems, that in the estimation of this prince, every breach of treaty, every departure from honesty might be justified, on the plea of expediency.[32] He had no real cause of resentment against Mary; and yet from the commencement of her reign, he had acted the part of a bitter enemy. His object had been, first to pre-

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[61] See these particulars, drawn from the original documents by Pallavicino, ii. 436—476. The complaints of the duke of Alva, and the recrimination of the college of cardinals, are in the Lettere de Principi, i. 190.

[62] It is amusing to observe that, while Noailles perpetually accuses Englishmen of habits of falsehood, he is continually practising it himself, sometimes of choice, sometimes by order of his sovereign. Thus, with respect to the league with the pope, he was instructed to keep it secret, couvrant, niant, cachant, et desniant ladicte intelligence avecques sadite sainctete. Noailles, v. 199.

vent the marriage of the queen with Philip, and then to disable her from lending aid to her husband. With these views he had, under the mask of friendship, fomented the discontent of her subjects, had encouraged them to rise in arms against her, and had offered an asylum, and furnished pensions to her rebels. Having determined to renew the war with Philip, he called on Dudley and his associates to resume their treasonable practices against Mary. In Calais, and the territory belonging to Calais, were certain families of reformers, whose resentment had been kindled by the persecution of their brethren; with these the chiefs of the fugitives opened a clandestine correspondence: and a plan was arranged for the delivery of Hammes and Guisnes, two important fortresses, into the hands of the French.[63] But the enterprise, to the mortification of Henry, was defeated by the communications of a spy in the pay of the English government, who wormed himself into the confidence, and betrayed the secrets of the conspirators. Within a few days a different attempt was made by another of the exiles, Thomas Stafford, second son to lord Stafford, and grandson to the last duke of Buckingham. With a small force of Englishmen, Scots and Frenchmen, he sailed from Dieppe, surprised the old castle of Scarborough, and im-

1557. March.

[63] The information, given by the spy, is in Strype, iii. 358.

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mediately published a proclamation, as protector and governor of the realm. He was come, April 24. "not to work to his own advancement, touching the possession of the crown," but to deliver his countrymen from the tyranny of strangers, and "to defeat the most devilish "devices of Mary, unrightful and unworthy "queen," who had forfeited her claim to the sceptre, by her marriage to a Spaniard, who lavished all the treasures of the realm upon Spaniards, and who had resolved to deliver the twelve strongest fortresses in the kingdom to twelve thousand Spaniards. He had determined to die bravely in the field, rather than see the slavery of his country: and he called on all Englishmen, animated with similar sentiments, to join the standard of independence, and to fight for the preservation of their lives, lands, wives, children and treasures, from the possession of Spaniards. But his hopes were quickly extinguished. Not a man obeyed the proclamation. Wotton, the English ambassador, had apprized the queen of his design; and when, April 28. on the fourth day, the earl of Westmoreland arrived with a considerable force, Stafford, unable to defend the ruins of the castle, surrendered at discretion.[64] The failure of these repeated at-

[64] Stafford's proclamation, and the queen's answer, are in Strype, iii. rec. 259—262. Godwin, 129. Heylin, 242. The pretence that this plot was got up by Wotton, the English ambassador in France, in order to provoke the queen to war, is improbable in itself, and

tempts ought to have undeceived the French monarch. Noailles and the exiles had persuaded him that discontent pervaded the whole population of the kingdom; that every man longed to free himself from the rule of Mary: and that at the first call, multitudes would unsheath their swords against her. But whenever the trial was made, the result proved the contrary. Men displayed their loyalty, by opposing the traitors; and Henry by attempting to embarrass the queen, provoked her to lend to her husband that aid, which it was his great object to avert.

Philip returns to England.

Hitherto Philip had discovered no inclination for war. Content with the extensive dominions, which had fallen to his lot, he sought rather to enjoy the pleasures becoming his youth and station: and, during his residence in England, had devoted much of his time to the chase, to parties of amusement, and to exercises of arms.[65] The bad faith of Henry awakened his resentment, and compelled him to draw the sword. But though the armistice had been broken in Italy, he was careful to make no demonstration of hostilities in Flanders, hoping by this apparent inactivity to deceive the enemy, till he had collected a numerous force in Spain, and engaged an army of mercenaries in Germany. In March

March 17.

must appear incredible to those who have read in the letters of Noailles, his notices of the important, though hazardous enterprises, designed by the exiles. Noailles, v. 256. 262.

[65] Noailles, v. 221.

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he revisited Mary, not so much in deference to her representations, as to draw England into the war with France. It is no wonder that the queen, after the provocations which she had received, should be willing to gratify her husband: but she left the decision to her council, in which the question was repeatedly debated. At first it was determined in the negative, on account of the poverty of the crown, the high price of provisions, the rancour of religious parties, and the condition in the marriage treaty, by which Philip promised not to involve the nation in the existing war against France. When it was replied, that the present was a new war, and that to preserve the dignity of the crown, it was requisite to obtain satisfaction for the injuries offered to the queen by Henry; the majority of the council proposed, that instead of embarking as a principal in the war, she should confine herself to that aid, to which she was bound by ancient treaties, as the ally of the house of Burgundy. At last the enterprise of Stafford effected, what neither the influence of the king, nor the known inclination of the queen, had been able to accomplish. A proclamation was issued, containing charges against the French monarch, which was not easy to refute. From the very accession of Mary he had put on the appearance of a friend, and acted as an adversary. He had approved of the rebellion of Northumberland, and supported that of Wyat: to him, through

June 7.

his ambassador, had been traced the conspiracies of Dudley and Ashton: and from him these traitors had obtained an asylum, and pensions: by his suggestions, attempts had been made to surprise Calais and its dependencies; and with his money Stafford had procured the ships and troops, with which he had obtained possession of the castle of Scarborough. The king and queen owed it to themselves and to the nation, to resent such a succession of injuries: and therefore they warned the English merchants to abstain from all traffic in the dominions of a monarch, against whom it was intended to declare war, and from whom they might expect the confiscation of their property.[66] Norroy, king at arms, was already on his road to Paris. According to the ancient custom he defied Henry; who coolly replied, that it did not become him to enter into altercation with a woman; that he intrusted his quarrel with confidence to the decision of the Almighty; and that the result would reveal to the world, who had the better cause. But when he heard of the proclamation, he determined to oppose to it a manifesto, in which he complained that Mary had maintained spies in his dominions, had laid new and heavy duties on the importation of French merchandise, and had unnecessarily adopted the

Henry's manifesto.

[66] Godwin, 129.

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personal enmities of her husband. The bishop of Acqs was immediately recalled: at Calais he
June 12. improved the opportunity to examine the fortifications, and remarked that from the gate of the harbour to the old castle, and from the castle for a considerable distance to the right, the rampart lay in ruins. At his request Senarpont, governor of Boulogne, repaired in disguise to the same place; and both concurred in the opinion, that its boasted strength consisted only in its reputation; and that, in its present state, it offered an easy conquest to a sudden and unexpected assailant. The ambassador, when he reached the court, acquainted his sovereign with the result of these observations; but at the same time laid before him a faithful portrait of the exiles and their adherents. The zeal of his brother had induced him to magnify the importance of these people. Their number was small, their influence inconsiderable, and their fidelity doubtful. Experience had shewn him, that they were more desirous to obtain the favour of their sovereign by betraying each other, than by molesting her to fulfil their engagements.[76]

Victory of St. Quintin. July.

Philip was now returned to Flanders, where the mercenaries from Germany, and the troops from Spain, had already arrived. The earl of

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[67] Noailles, 33. 35.

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Pembroke followed at the head of seven thousand Englishmen:[68] and the command of the combined army, consisting of 40,000 men, was assumed by Philibert, duke of Savoy. Having threatened Marienberg, Rocroi and Guise, he suddenly invested the town of St. Quintin, and the constable Montmorency was ordered by Henry to relieve the place. On one side of St. Quintin, lay a deep and extensive morass, which had hitherto been deemed impassable, and on that account had been neglected by the besiegers. Over this, however, the French commander undertook to throw succours into the town: but Aug. 10. the boats became unmanageable amidst the mud and the reeds; the Spanish artillery approached; and the constable in his retreat was overtaken and defeated by the pursuers. Three thousand men fell in the action: twice as many were made prisoners; and among these were numbered the commander in chief, the marshal St. André, and many of the first nobility in France. While the forces under the earl of Pembroke distinguished themselves in this memorable victory, the English fleet rode triumphant on the ocean, and kept the maritime provinces of France in a state of perpetual alarm. Bordeaux and Bayonne were alternately menaced: descents were made on

[68] To equip this army, the queen had raised a loan by privy seals, dated July 31, requiring certain gentlemen in different counties to lend her 100l. each, to be repaid in the month of November, Strype, iii. 424.

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several points of the coast: and the plunder of the defenceless inhabitants rewarded the services of the adventurers.[69]

Motions of the Scots.

When Mary determined to aid her husband against Henry, she had made up her mind to a war with Scotland. In that kingdom the national animosity against the English, the ancient alliance with France, the marriage of the queen to the dauphin, and the authority of the regent, a French princess, had given the French interest a decided preponderance. From the very commencement of the year, the Scots, for the sole purpose of intimidation, had assumed a menacing attitude: the moment Mary denounced war against Henry, they agreed to assist him by invading the northern counties. The borderers on both sides recommenced their usual inroads, and many captures of small importance were reciprocally made at sea. But to collect a sufficient force for the invasion, required considerable time; before the equinox the weather became stormy; the fords and roads were rendered impassable by the rains; and a contagious disease

[69] Noailles, i. 17—19. The success of the English at St. Quintin, irritated the venom of Goodman, one of the most celebrated of the exiles at Geneva, who in his treatise entitled, "How to obey or dis-"obey," thus addresses those among the reformers, who, "to please "the wicked Jezabel," had fought on that day: "Is this the love "that ye bear to the word of God, O ye Gospellers? Have ye been "so taught in the gospel, to be wilful murtherers of yourselves and "others abroad, rather than lawful defenders of God's people, and "your country at home?" Apud Strype, iii. 441.

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introduced itself into the Lowlands. It required considerable exertion on the part of the queen regent and of D'Oyselles, the ambassador, to assemble the army against the beginning of October: they found it a still more difficult task to guide the turbulent and capricious humour of the Scottish nobles. When the auxiliaries from France crossed the Tweed to batter the castle of Wark, the Scots, instead of fighting, assembled in council at Ecford church, where they reminded each other of the fatal field of Flodden, and exaggerated the loss of their ally at the battle of St. Quintin. The earl of Shrewsbury lay before them with the whole power of England: why should the Scots shed their blood for an interest entirely French; why hazard the best hopes of the country without any adequate cause? The earl of Huntley alone ventured to oppose the general sentiment. He was put under a temporary arrest: and in defiance of the threats, the tears, and the entreaties of the regent, the army was disbanded. "Thus," says lord Shrewsbury, "this enterprise, begun with so great "bravery, ended in dishonour and shame."[70] It produced, however, this benefit to France, that it distracted the attention of the English council, and added considerably to the expenses of the war.

Oct. 11.

Oct. 17.

Oct. 18.

At the same time Mary, to her surprise and

[70] See the long correspondence on the subject of this intended invasion in Lodge, i. 240—293.

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Contest between Mary and the pope.

vexation, found herself involved in a contest with the pontiff. Though Pole, in former times, had suffered much for his attachment to the catholic creed, the cardinal Caraffa had, on one occasion, ventured to express a doubt with respect to his orthodoxy. That this suspicion was unfounded, Caraffa subsequently acknowledged;[71] and after his elevation to the popedom, he had repeatedly pronounced a high eulogium on the English cardinal. Now, however, whether it was owing to the moderation of Pole, which, to the pope's more ardent zeal appeared like a dereliction of duty, or to the suggestions of those who sought to widen the breach between Philip and the holy see, Paul reverted to the suspicions which he had before abjured. Though he wished to mask his real intention, he resolved to involve the legate in the same disgrace with his friend cardinal Morone, and to subject the orthodoxy of both to the investigation of the inquisition. It chanced that Philip, in consequence of the war, had made regulations, which seemed to trench on the papal authority: and Paul, to mark his sense of these encroachments, revoked his ministers from all the dominions of that monarch. There was no reason to suppose that Pole was included in his revocation: but the pontiff ordered a letter to be prepared, announcing to him that his

[71] Pol. ep. iv. 91. v. 122.

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legatine authority was at an end, and ordering him to hasten immediately to Rome. Carne, the queen's agent, informed her by express of the pope's intention, and in the mean time, by his remonstrances, extorted an illusory promise of delay. Philip and Mary expostulated: the English prelates and nobility, in separate letters, May 21. complained of the injury which religion would receive from the measure; and Pole himself re- May 25. presented that the control of a legate was necessary, though it mattered little whether that office was exercised by himself or another.[72] This expression suggested a new expedient. Peyto, a Franciscan friar, eighty years of age, was the queen's confessor: him the pope, in a June 14. secret consistory, created a cardinal; and immediately transferred to him all the powers which had hitherto been exercised by Pole.[73] In this emergency, Mary's respect for the papal authority did not prevent her from having recourse

[72] These letters may be seen in Pole's ep. v. 27. Strype, iii. rec. 231. Burnet ii. 315. In them great complaint is made, that the pope should deprive the cardinal of the authority of legate, which for centuries had been annexed to the office of archbishop of Canterbury. It would appear that this was a mistake. For soon afterwards Pole, though he no longer styled himself legatus a latere, assumed the title of legatus natus, and kept it till his death. Wilk. iv. 149. 153. 171. Pol. ep. v. 181.

[73] Pol. ep. v. 144, ex actis consistorialibus. Paul says, that he had known Peyto when he was in the family of Pole; that from the first he had determined to make him a cardinal; and that he considered him worthy of the honour, both from his own knowledge and the testimony of others. Ibid.

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to the precautions which had often been employed by her predecessors. Orders were issued, that every messenger from foreign parts should be detained and searched. The bearer of the papal letters was arrested at Calais: his dispatches were clandestinely forwarded to Mary; and the letter of revocation was either secreted, or destroyed. Thus it happened that Peyto never received any official notice of his preferment, nor Pole of his recal. The latter, however, ceased to exercise the legatine authority; and dispatched Ormanetto, his chancellor, to Rome. That messenger arrived at a most favourable moment. The papal army had been defeated at Palliano; the news of the victory at St. Quintin had arrived; and peace was signed between Paul and Philip. In these circumstances, the pontiff treated Ormanetto with kindness, and referred the determination of the question to his nephew, the cardinal Caraffa, whom he had appointed legate to the king.[74] When that minister reached Brussels, he demanded that both Pole and Peyto should be suffered to proceed to Rome; Pole, that he might clear himself from the charge of heresy, Peyto, that he might aid the pontiff with his advice. Philip referred him to Mary; and Mary returned a refusal.[75] At Rome proceedings against the English cardinal were already commenced:

July 20.

Sept. 14.

Sept. 24.

Dec. 13.

[74] Beccatello, 380. [75] Pallavicino, ii. 500. 502.

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1558.

but Pole, in strong, though respectful language, remonstrated against the injustice which was done to his character:[76] Peyto soon afterwards died; and the question remained in suspense, till it was set at rest in the course of a few months by the death of all the parties concerned.

March 30.

April.

Loss of Calais.

The disgrace which had befallen the French arms at St. Quintin had induced Henry to recal the duke of Guise from Italy, and to consult him on the means by which he might restore his reputation, and take revenge for his loss. The reader has seen that he had formerly attempted, through the agency of the exiles, to debauch the fidelity of some among the inhabitants or the troops in garrison, at Calais. There is reason to believe that he had at present his secret partisans within the town: but, however that may be, the representations of the bishop of Acqs and of the governor of Boulogne had taught him to form a more correct notion of its imaginary strength; and the duke of Guise adopted a plan originally suggested by the admiral Colgini, to assault the fortress in the middle of winter, when, from the depth of the water in the marshes, and the severity of the weather, it appeared least exposed to danger. In the month of December twenty-five thousand men, with a numerous train of battering

[76] Pol. ep. v. 31—36.

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1558. Jan. 1. artillery, assembled at Compeigne. Every eye was turned towards St. Quintin. But suddenly the army broke up, took the direction of Calais, and on new-year's day was discovered in considerable force on the road from Sandgate to Hammes. The governor, lord Wentworth, had received repeated warnings to provide for the defence of the place: but he persuaded himself that the object of the enemy was not conquest,

Jan. 2. but plunder. The next day the bulwarks of Froyten and Nesle were abandoned by their garrisons; and within twenty-four hours the surrender of Newhaven bridge and of the Risbank, brought the assailants within reach of the

Jan. 3. town. A battery on St. Peter's heath played on

Jan. 4. the wall; another opened a wide breach in the castle: and the commander, in expectation of an assault, earnestly solicited reinforcements.

Jan. 6. Lord Wentworth was admonished that the loss of the town must infallibly follow that of the castle; but he rejected the application, ordered the garrison to be withdrawn, and appointed an engineer to blow up the towers on the approach

Jan. 7. of the enemy. That same evening, during the ebb-tide, a company of Frenchmen waded across the haven: no explosion took place; and the French standard was unfurled on the walls.[77]

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[77] In excuse of Saul, the engineer, who was charged to blow up the towers, it has been pretended that the water, dropping from the clothes of the Frenchmen, as they passed over the train, wet the powder, and prevented it from exploding. See Hollingshed, 1135.

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The next morning an offer of capitulation was made; and the town with all the ammunition and merchandise, was surrendered, on condition that the citizens and garrison should have liberty to depart, with the exception of Wentworth himself and of fifty others. Ample supplies of men and stores had been provided by the council: but they were detained at Dover by the tempestuous state of the weather: and no man apprehended that a place of such reputed strength could be lost in the space of a single week. From Calais, the duke led his army to the siege of Guisnes. A breach was made; the assailants were gallantly repulsed; but this success was purchased with the lives of so many men, that lord Gray, the governor, evacuated the town, and two days later surrendered the castle. Thus, in the depth of winter, and within the short lapse of three weeks, was Calais, with all its dependencies, recovered by France, after it had remained in the possession of the English more than two hundred years. On whom the blame should be laid is uncertain. Some have condemned the ministers, who under a mistaken notion of economy, had allowed it to be unprovided for a siege; others, and not without apparent cause, have attributed the loss to disaffection and treason.[78]

Jan. 8.

Jan 20.

Jan. 22.

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[78] There is a long account of the siege of Calais in Thuanus, tom. i. part ii. p. 679, and of that of Guisnes, in Hollingshed, 1137—40;

CHAP. III.

Grief of Mary and of the nation.

To men, who weighed the trivial advantages which had been derived from the possession of the place, against the annual expenses of its garrison and fortifications, the loss appeared in the light of a national benefit: but in the eyes of foreigners it tarnished the reputation of the country, and at home it furnished a subject of reproach to the factious, of regret to the loyal. The queen felt it most poignantly; and we may form a notion of her grief from the declaration which she made on her death-bed, that if her breast were opened, the word "Calais" would be found engraven on her heart.[79] With these feelings, she met her parliament; and by the mouth of the chancellor solicited a liberal supply. The spirit of the nation had been roused: all men appeared eager to revenge the loss: the clergy granted an aid of eight shillings in the pound, the laity one of four shillings, besides a fifteenth to be raised within four months. Several bills, against the natives of France, but savouring more of resentment than of policy, were thrown out by the moderation of the ministers; and the session closed with two acts for the better defence of the realm, of which one regulated the musters of the militia, the other fixed the pro-

Jan. 20.

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but I have adhered to the official correspondence in the Hardwick papers, i. 103—120. I should add, that lord Wentworth and some of his officers, on their return to England, were tried on a charge of high treason. Stow, 634. See also Cabrera, Filipe segundo, 181. 183.

[79] Godwin, 134.

portion of arms, armour, and horses, to be provided by private individuals.[80]

Some weeks before the attempt of the duke of Guise, Philip had warned the council of his design, and had offered for the defence of Calais, a garrison of Spanish troops. The admonition was received with distrust; and some of the lords hinted a suspicion, that under the colour of preserving the place from the French, he might harbour an intention of keeping it for himself. He now made a second proposal, to join any number of Spaniards to an equal number of English, and to undertake the recovery of the town, before the enemy had repaired the works. Even this offer was declined, on the ground that a sufficient force could not be raised within the appointed time; that the greater part of the ordnance had been lost at Calais and Guisnes; that raw soldiers would not be able to bear the rigours of the season; and that it was necessary to keep up a respectable army at home, to intimidate the factious, and to repress the attempts of the outlaws.[81] For these reasons, the ministers preferred to fortify the coast of Devon, where Dudley menaced a descent, and to prepare an armament, sufficiently powerful to surprise some port on the French coast, as an equi-

Feb. 1.

[80] Journals of lords and commons. As the money did not come into the exchequer immediately, the queen borrowed 20,000*l.* of the citizens, at an interest of 12 per cent. Stow, 632.

[81] Their letter is in Strype, iii. 439.

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valent for that which had been lost. During the spring seven thousand men were levied, and trained to military evolutions: the lord admiral collected in the harbour of Portsmouth a fleet of one hundred and forty sail; and Philip willingly supplied a strong reinforcement of Flemish troops. In France the capture of Calais had excited an intoxication of joy. The event had been celebrated by the nuptials of the dauphin to the young queen of Scotland; but it was clouded by the calamitous defeat of the marshal de

July 13. Termes. He was actually engaged with the Spanish force under the count of Egmont, on the banks of the Aa, when the report of the cannon attracted the English admiral Malin, with twelve small vessels, to the mouth of the river. Malin entered with the tide; brought his ships to bear on the enemy's line, and with the discharge of a few broadsides, threw their right wing into disorder. The victory was completed by the charge of the Spaniards. The French lost five thousand men; and De Termes, Senarpont, governor of Boulogne, and many gallant officers, were made prisoners. To Malin the count proved his gratitude by a present of two hundred captives, that he might receive the profit of their ransom.[82]

Naval expedition.

In the action on the banks of the Aa, the greatest part of the garrison of Calais had pe-

[82] Godwin, 132. Stow, 633.

rished: and there can be little doubt that by an immediate and vigorous attack the town itself might have been recovered. But the grand expedition had previously sailed from Portsmouth, and had already reached the coast of Bretagne. Its object was to surprise the port of Brest; and we are ignorant why the lord admiral, instead of proceeding immediately to his destination, amused himself with making a descent in the vicinity of Conquest. He burnt the town, and plundered the adjacent villages: but in the mean time, the alarm was given; troops poured from all quarters into Brest; and his fears or his prudence induced him to return to England, without having done any thing to raise the reputation of the country, or to repay the expenses of the expedition.[83]

After this failure the last hope of the ministers was placed in the honour and fidelity of Philip. That prince had joined his army of 45,000 men in the vicinity of Dourlens; and Henry lay with a force scarcely inferior in the neighbourhood of Amiens. Instead, however, of a battle, conferences were opened in the abbey of Cercamp, and both parties professed to be animated with a sincere desire of peace. It was evident that, if the king should yield to the demand of France, Calais was irretrievably lost. But Philip was conscious that he had led

Au ust.

[83] Ibid.

CHAP. III.

the queen into the war, and deemed himself bound in honour to watch no less over her interests than over his own. He resisted the most tempting offers: he declared that the restoration of Calais must be an indispensable condition; and at last, in despair of subduing the obstinacy of Henry, put an end to the negociation.[84]

Mary's last sickness.

But the reign of Mary was now hastening to its termination. Her health had always been delicate; from the time of her supposed pregnancy she was afflicted with more frequent and obstinate maladies. Tears no longer afforded her relief from the depression of her spirits; and the repeated loss of blood by the advice of her physicians, had rendered her pale, languid, and emaciated.[85] Nor was her mind more at ease than her body. The exiles from Geneva, by the number and virulence of their libels, kept her in a constant state of fear and irritation;[86] and to other causes of anxiety, which have been formerly mentioned, had lately been added the insalubrity of the season,[87] the loss of Calais, and

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[84] See the official correspondence in Burnet, iii. 258—263.

[85] Memoir of the Venetian ambassador, fol. 157.

[86] These libels provoked the government to issue, on the 6th of June, a proclamation, stating that books filled with heresy, sedition, and treason, were daily brought from beyond the seas, and some covertly printed within the realm, and ordering that "whosoever "should be found to have any of the said wicked and seditious "books, should be reputed a rebel, and executed according to mar-"tial law." Strype, iii. 459.

[87] See note (F.).

her contest with the pontiff. In August she experienced a slight febrile indisposition at Hampton court, and immediately removed to St. James's. It was soon ascertained that her disease was the same fever which had proved fatal to thousands of her subjects: and though she languished for three months, with several alterations of improvement and relapse, she never recovered sufficiently to leave her chamber.

During this long confinement, Mary edified all around her by her cheerfulnes, her piety, and her resignation to the will of Providence. Her chief solicitude was for the stability of that church which she had restored; and her suspicions of Elizabeth's insincerity prompted her to require from her sister an avowal of her real sentiments. In return, Elizabeth complained of Mary's incredulity. She was a true and conscientious believer in the catholic creed; nor could she do more now than she had repeatedly done before, which was to confirm her assertion with her oath. To the duke of Feria, who had come on a visit to the queen from her husband, the princess made the same declaration: and so convinced was that nobleman of her sincerity, that he not only removed the doubts of Mary, but assured Philip that the succession of Elizabeth would cause no alteration in the worship now established by law.[88]

[88] MS. life of the dutchess of Feria, 156. "She prayed God that "the earth might open and swallow her up alive, if she were not a

CHAP. III.

Meeting of parliament.

On the fifth of November, the day fixed at the prorogation, the parliament assembled at Westminster. The ministers in the name of the queen demanded a supply; but little progress was made, under the persuasion that she had but a few days to live. As the danger increased, she ordered Jane Dormer, one of her maids of honour, and afterwards dutchess of Feria, to deliver to Elizabeth the jewels in her custody, and to make to the princess three requests: that she would be good to her servants, would repay the sums of money which had been lent on privy seals, and would support the established church. On the morning of her death, mass was celebrated in her chamber. She was perfectly sensible, and expired a few minutes before the conclusion.[89] Her friend and kinsman, cardinal Pole, who had long been confined with a fever, survived her only twenty-two hours. He had reached his fifty-ninth, she her forty-second year.[90]

Death of the queen. Nov. 17.

Her character.

The foulest blot on the character of this queen is her long and cruel persecution of the reformers. The sufferings of the victims naturally begat an antipathy to the woman, by whose authority they were inflicted. It is, however,

"true Roman Catholic." Ibid. 129. See also Paterson's Image of the two Churches, 435.

[89] MS. life of the dutchess of Feria, 128, 129.

[90] Before his death he sent his chaplain, the dean of Worcester, to the lady Elizabeth. We know not his message, but the letter which he took with him may be seen in Hearne's Sylloge, 157.

but fair to recollect what I have already noticed, that the extirpation of erroneous doctrine was inculcated as a duty by the leaders of every religious party. Mary only practised what *they* taught. It was her misfortune, rather than her fault, that she was not more enlightened than the wisest of her contemporaries.

Her virtues.

With this exception, she has been ranked, by the more moderate of the reformed writers, among the best, though not the greatest, of our princes. They have borne honourable testimony to her virtues: have allotted to her the praise of piety and clemency, of compassion for the poor, and liberality to the distressed: and have recorded her solicitude to restore to opulence the families that had been unjustly deprived of their possessions by her father and brother, and to provide for the wants of the parochial clergy, who had been reduced to penury by the spoliations of the last government.[91] It is acknowledged that her moral character was beyond reproof. It extorted respect from all, even from the most virulent of her enemies. The ladies of her household copied the conduct of their mistress: and the decency of Mary's court was often mentioned with applause by

[91] Princeps apud omnes ob mores sanctissimos, pietatem in pauperes, liberalitatem in nobiles atque ecclesiasticos nunquam satis laudata. Camden in apparat. 23. Mulier sane pia, clemens, moribusque castissimis, et usquequaque laudanda, si religionis errorem non spectes. Godwin, 123.

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those, who lamented the dissoluteness which prevailed in that of her successor.[92]

The queen was thought by some to have inherited the obstinacy of her father: but there was this difference, that before she formed her decisions, she sought for advice and information, and made it an invariable rule to prefer right to expediency. One of the outlaws, who had obtained his pardon, hoped to ingratiate himself with Mary by devising a plan to render her independent of parliament. He submitted it to the inspection of the Spanish ambassador, by whom it was recommended to her consideration. Sending for Gardiner, she bade him peruse it, and then adjured him, as he should answer at the judgment seat of God, to speak his real sentiments. "Madam," replied the prelate, "it is a "pity that so virtuous a lady should be sur- "rounded by such sycophants. The book is "naught: it is filled with things too horrible to "be thought of." She thanked him, and threw the paper into the fire.[93]

Her abilities.

Her natural abilities had been improved by

[92] MS. life of the dutchess of Feria, 114. Faunt, Walsingham's secretary, says of Elizabeth's court, that it was a place "where all "enormities were practised: where sin reigned in the highest de- "gree." Aug. 6, 1583. Birch, i. 39.

[93] This anecdote is told by Persons in one of his tracts, but I have unfortunately mislaid the reference. It bears some resemblance to what I have already related of Gardiner in the reign of Henry (Hist. vi. 387, note 103). There is an allusion to it in the continuation of Henry's history by Andrews, i. 339, note.

education. She understood the Italian, she spoke the French and Spanish languages: and the ease and correctness with which she replied to the foreigners, who addressed her in Latin, excited their admiration.[94] Her speeches in public, and from the throne, were delivered with grace and fluency: and her conferences with Noailles, as related in his dispatches, shew her to have possessed an acute and vigorous mind, and to have been on most subjects a match for that subtle and intriguing negociator.

Her progresses.

It had been the custom of her predecessors to devote the summer months to "progresses" through different counties. But these journeys produced considerable injury and inconvenience to the farmers, who were not only compelled to furnish provisions to the purveyors at inadequate prices, but were withdrawn from the labours of the harvest to aid with their horses and waggons in the frequent removals of the court, and of the multitude which accompanied it. Mary, through consideration of the interests and comforts of the husbandmen, denied herself this pleasure; and generally confined her excursions to Croydon, a manor belonging

[94] Nella latina faria stupir ognuno con le risposte che da. Venetian ambassador to the senate, MSS. Barber. 1208. He adds, that she was fond of music and excelled on the monochord and the lute, two fashionable instruments at that time. English writers also praise her proficiency in the Latin language. She had translated for publication the paraphrase of Erasmus on the gospel of St. John. Warton's Sir Thomas Pope, 57.

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to the church of Canterbury. There it formed her chief amusement to walk out in the company of her maids, without any distinction of dress, and in this disguise to visit the houses of the neighbouring poor. She inquired into their circumstances, relieved their wants, spoke in their favour to her officers, and often, where the family was numerous, apprenticed, at her own expense, such of the children as appeared of promising dispositions.[95]

Foundation of colleges.

During her reign, short as it was, and disturbed by repeated insurrections, much attention was paid to the interests of the two universities, not only by the queen herself, who restored to them that portion of their revenues, which had devolved on the crown, but also by individuals, who devoted their private fortunes to the advancement of learning. At a time when the rage for polemic disputation had almost expelled the study of classic literature from the schools, sir Thomas Pope founded Trinity college, in Oxford, and made it a particular regulation, that its inmates should acquire "a just relish for the graces and purity of "the Latin tongue." About three years later, sir Thomas White established St. John's, on the site of Bernard's college, the foundation of archbishop Chichely; and at the same time, the celebrated Dr. Caius, at Cambridge, made so

[95] MS. life of the dutchess of Feria, p. 120.

considerable an addition to Gonvil hall, and endowed with so many advowsons, manors and demesnes, that it now bears his name, in conjunction with that of the original founder.

Laws.

Though her parliaments were convoked for temporary purposes, they made several salutary enactments, respecting the offence of treason, the office of sheriff, the powers of magistrates, the relief of the poor, and the practice of the courts of law. The merit of these may probably be due to her council: but of her own solicitude for the equal administration of justice, we have a convincing proof. It had long been complained that in suits, to which the crown was a party, the subject, whatever were his right, had no probability of a favourable decision, on account of the superior advantages claimed and enjoyed by the counsel for the sovereign. When Mary appointed Morgan chief justice of the court of common pleas, she took the opportunity to express her disapprobation of this grievance. "I charge you, sir," said she, "to minister the "law and justice indifferently, without respect "of person; and, notwithstanding the old error "among you, which will not admit any witness "to speak, or other matter to be heard in favour "of the adversary, the crown being a party, it is "my pleasure, that whatever can be brought in "favour of the subject, may be admitted and "heard. You are to sit there, not as advocates

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"for me, but as indifferent judges between me "and my people."[96]

Commercial treaty with Russia.

Neither were the interests of trade neglected during her government. She had the honour of concluding the first commercial treaty with Russia. On the return of Chancellor from his

1555. Feb. 6. northern expedition, she incorporated by charter, the company of merchant adventures tra-

April 1. ding to Muscovy, and sent back the same navigator with a letter to the czar, John Basilovitch. Chancellor proceeded up the Dwina, traversed

1556. July 20. the country to Moscow, obtained from the czar the most flattering promises, and returned with Osep Napea Gregorivitch, as ambassador to

Nov. 10. Mary. They reached the bay of Pettisligo in the north of Scotland: but during the night the ship was driven from her anchors upon the rocks: Chancellor perished; the ambassador saved his life: but his property, and the presents for the queen, were carried off by the natives, who plundered the wreck. Mary sent two messengers to Edinburgh to supply his wants, and to complain of the detention of his effects.[97] No redress could be obtained; but she made every effort to console him for his

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[96] State Trials, i. 72.

[97] Lord Wharton, in a letter from Berwick of Feb. 28th, says "a "great nomber in that realme ar sorye that they suffered the im- "bassador of Russea to departe owte of the same: he may thanke "God that he escaped from their crewell covetouse with his lief." Lodge, i. 224.

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loss. On the borders of each county the sheriffs received him in state: he was met in the neighbourhood of London by lord Montague with three hundred horse; and during his stay in the capital the king and queen, the lord mayor, and the company treated him with extraordinary distinction. He appeared, however, to mistrust these demonstrations of kindness: and it was not without difficulty that he was brought to accede to many of the demands of the merchants. At length a treaty was concluded by the address of the bishop of Ely and sir William Petre: and Napea was sent back to his own country, loaded with presents for himself, and still more valuable gifts for his sovereign. The trade fully compensated the queen and the nation for these efforts and expenses; and the woollen cloths and coarse linens of England were exchanged at an immense profit for the valuable skins and furs of the northern regions.[98]

1557. March 1.

May 1.

[98] Legatorum nemo unquam quisquam (sicut autumo) magnificentius apud nostros acceptus est. (Godwin, 129.) The presents which he received for himself and his sovereign, from the king and queen, are enumerated by Stow, 630. Among them are a lion and lioness. All his expenses, from his arrival in Scotland to the day on which he left England, were defrayed by the merchants. I may here observe, that at this time, according to the report of the Venetian ambassador, there were many merchants in London worth fifty or sixty thousand pounds each, that the inhabitants amounted to 180,000, and that it was not surpassed in wealth by any city in Europe. Si puo dire per vero que puo quella città senza dubio star a paragone delle piu ricche d'Europa. MSS. Barber, 1208, p. 137.

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Dissolution of the company of the steelyard.

Mary may also claim the merit of having supported the commercial interests of the country against the pretensions of a company of foreign merchants, which had existed for centuries in London, under the different denominations of Easterlings, merchants of the Hanse towns, and merchants of the Steelyard. By their readiness to advance loans of money on sudden emergencies, they had purchased the most valuable privileges from several of our monarchs. They formed a corporation, governed by its own laws: whatever duties were exacted from others, they paid no more than one per cent. on their merchandise; they were at the same time buyers and sellers, brokers and carriers: they imported jewels and bullion, cloth of gold and of silver, tapestry and wrought silk, arms, naval stores and household furniture; and exported wool and woollen cloths, skins, lead and tin, cheese and beer, and Mediterranean wines. Their privileges and wealth, gave them a superiority over all other merchants, which excluded competition, and enabled them to raise or depress the prices almost at pleasure. In the last reign the public feeling against them had been manifested by frequent acts of violence, and several petitions had been presented to the council, complaining of the injuries suffered by the English merchants. After a long investigation it was declared, that the company had violated, and

1552. Feb. 24.

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consequently had forfeited its charter: but by dint of remonstrances, of presents, and of foreign intercession, it obtained, in the course of a few weeks, a royal licence to resume the traffic under the former regulations.[99] In Mary's first parliament, a new blow was aimed at its privileges; and it was enacted in the bill of tonnage and poundage, that the Easterlings should pay the same duties as other foreign merchants. The queen, indeed, was induced to suspend, for a while, the operation of the statute;[100] but she soon discerned the true interest of her subjects, revoked the privileges of the company, and refused to listen to the arguments adduced, or the intercession made in its favour.[101] Elizabeth followed the policy of her predecessor; the steelyard was at length shut up; and the Hanse-towns, after a long and expensive suit, yielded to necessity, and abandoned the contest.

July 8.

1554. Jan. 15.

1555. Jan. 2.

Ireland.

Ireland, during this reign, offers but few subjects to attract the notice of the reader. The officers of government were careful to copy the proceedings in England. They first proclaimed the lady Jane, and then the lady Mary. They suffered the new service to fall into desuetude: Dowdall resumed the archbishopric of Armagh; the married prelates and clergy lost their bene-

[99] Strype, ii. 295, 296.

[100] Rymer, xv. 364, 365.

[101] Noailles, iv. 137.

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fices; and Bale, the celebrated bishop of Ossory, who had often endangered his life by his violence and fanaticism, had the prudence to withdraw to the continent. When the Irish parliament met, it selected most of its enactments from the English statute book. The legitimacy and right of the queen were affirmed; the ancient service was restored, and the papal authority acknowledged.[102] But, though the laws against heresy were revived, they were not carried into execution. The number of the reformers proved too small to excite apprehension: and their zeal too cautious to offer provocation.

The lord deputy, the earl of Sussex, distinguished himself by the vigour of his government. He recovered from the native Irish the two districts of Ofally and Leix, which he moulded into counties, and named King's county and Queen's county, in honour of Philip and Mary. He was also careful to define, by a new statute, the meaning of Poyning's act.[103] It provided that no parliament should be summoned, till the reasons why it should be held, and the bills which it was intended to pass, had been submitted to the consideration, and had received the consent, of the sovereign: and that, if any thing occurred during the session to make additional enactments necessary, these should in the

[102] Irish Stat. 3 and 4 Philip and Mary, 1, 2, 3, 4.

[103] See Hist. vol. v. p. 421, 422.

same manner be certified to the king, and be approved by him, before they were laid before the two houses. By this act the usage was determined of holding parliaments in Ireland.[104]

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[104] It has lately been suggested to me, that the word "gospellers," which I have frequently employed in these pages, has been used as a term of reproach. I certainly am not aware of it; but can safely affirm, that originally it was a favourite appellation, that by which the more ancient of the reformed writers were accustomed to designate themselves and their disciples.

CHAP. IV.

ELIZABETH.

CONTEMPORARY PRINCES.

Emperors.	*Scotland.*	*France.*	*Spain.*	*Popes.*
Ferdinand....1564	Mary.....1587.	Henry II..... 1559.	Philip II.....1598.	Paul IV.....1559.
Maximilian...1576.	James VI.	Francis II....1560.	Philip III.	Pius IV.....1565.
Rodolph.		Charles IX...1574.		Pius V.....1572.
		Henry III....1589.		Gregory XIII.1585.
		Henry IV.		Sixtus V.....1590.
				Urban VII....1590.
				Gregory XIV. 1591.
				Innocent IX..1591.
				Clement VIII.

ACCESSION OF ELIZABETH—ABOLITION OF THE CATHOLIC WORSHIP—PEACE WITH FRANCE AND SCOTLAND—WAR OF THE SCOTTISH REFORMATION—INTRIGUES OF CECIL WITH THE REFORMERS—SIEGE OF LEITH—TREATIES OF PEACE—RETURN OF MARY STUART TO SCOTLAND—SUITORS OF ELIZABETH.

CHAP. IV.

Accession of Elizabeth. 1558. Nov. 17.

WHATEVER opinion men might entertain of the legitimacy of Elizabeth, she ascended the throne without opposition. Mary had expired about noon: and in a short time the commons received a message to attend at the bar of the house of lords. On their arrival the important

event was announced by archbishop Heath, the lord chancellor. God, he said, had taken to his mercy their late sovereign the lady Mary, and had given them another in the person of her royal sister the lady Elizabeth. Of the right of Elizabeth there could be no doubt. It had been decided by the statute of the thirty-first of Henry VIII.: and nothing remained for the two houses but to discharge their duty, by recognising the accession of the new sovereign. Her title was immediately proclaimed, first in Westminster Hall, and again at Temple Bar, in presence of the lord mayor, the aldermen, and the companies of the city.[1]

Her answer to the council.

From the palace a deputation of the council repaired to Hatfield, the residence of the new queen. She received them courteously, and to their congratulations replied in a formal and studied discourse. She was struck with amazement, when she considered herself and the dignity to which she had been called. Her shoulders were too weak to support the burden: but it was her duty to submit to the will of God, and to seek the aid of wise and faithful advisers. For this purpose she would in a few days appoint a new council. It was her intention to retain several of those who had been inured to business under her father, brother, and sister: and, if the others were not employed, she would

[1] Journals of Commons, 53. Camden, i. 2. 5.

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have them to believe, that it was not through distrust of their ability or will to serve her, but through a wish to avoid that indecision and delay, which so often arose from the jarring opinions of a multitude of advisers.[2]

Her chief advisers.

This answer had been suggested by the man to whom she had already given her confidence, sir William Cecil, formerly secretary to Edward VI. Having obtained a pardon in the last reign, for his share in the treason of Northumberland, he had sought, by feigning an attachment to the catholic faith, to worm himself into the good graces of Mary. But that queen, though cardinal Pole professed to be his friend, always doubted his sincerity: her reserve, joined to her increasing infirmities, taught him to divert his devotion from "the setting to the rising sun;" and Elizabeth accepted with joy and gratitude the services of so able and experienced a statesman.[3]

Cecil was appointed secretary: and the queen with his aid named the members of her council. Of the advisers of Mary she retained those, who were distinguished for their capacity, or formidable by their influence: and to these she added eight others, who had deserved that honour by their former attachment to her in her troubles, or owed it to their connection with the secretary by consanguinity or friendship. It

[2] Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 66. [3] Philopater, 24—26.

CHAP. IV.

was remarked, that all the old counsellors professed themselves catholics, all the new, protestants: that the former comprised several, who, in the last reign, had proved most active champions of the ancient faith; the latter, some who had suffered imprisonment or exile for their adherence to the reformed doctrines.[4] In a body composed of such discordant elements, much harmony could not be expected: but this counsel was rather for shew than real use: there was another and secret cabinet, consisting of Cecil and his particular friends, who possessed the ear of the queen, and controlled through her every department in the state.

Her accession notified to foreign courts.

One of the first cares of the new government was to notify to foreign courts the death of Mary, and the succession of Elizabeth "by hereditary "right, and the consent of the nation." The instructions sent to the ambassadors varied according to the presumed disposition of the courts at which they resided. The emperor Ferdinand

[4] Camden, i. 26, 27. The old counsellors were archbishop Heath, the marquess of Winchester, the earls of Arundel, Shrewsbury, Derby, and Pembroke, the lords Clinton and Howard of Effingham, the knights Cheney, Petre, Mason, and Sackville, and the civilian Dr. Boxall: the new, the earl of Bedford, William Parr, formerly marquess of Northampton, sir William Cecil, Ambrose Cave, Francis Knollis, Thomas Parry, Edward Rogers, and Nicholas Bacon. Knollis and Rogers had gone into exile in the last reign; Cave had always been a zealous partisan of Elizabeth; Parry, who was distantly related to Cecil, held an office in her household; and Bacon, who had risen to eminence in the profession of the law, had married the sister of lady Cecil.

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and Philip of Spain were assured of the intention of the queen, to maintain and strengthen the existing alliance between the house of Austria and the English crown: to the king of Denmark, the duke of Holstein, and the Lutheran princes of Germany, a confidential communication was made of her attachment to the reformed faith, and of her wish to cement an union among all its professors:[5] and Carne, the resident at Rome, was ordered to acquaint the pontiff, that she had succeeded to her sister, and had determined to offer no violence to the consciences of her subjects, whatever might be their religious creed. It was the misfortune of Paul, who had passed his eightieth year, that he adopted opinions with the credulity, and maintained them with the pertinacity, of old age. His ear had been pre-occupied by the diligence of the French ambassador, who suggested that to admit the succession of Elizabeth, would be to approve the pretended marriage of her parents, Henry VIII. and Anne Boleyn: to annul the decisions of Clement VII. and Paul III.; to prejudge the claim of the true and legitimate heir, Mary, queen of Scots; and to offend the king of France, who had determined to support the right of his daughter-in-law with all the power of his realm. When Carne performed his commission, Paul replied, that he was unable

[5] Camden, i. 28.

to comprehend the hereditary right of one who was not born in lawful wedlock: that the queen of Scots claimed the crown as the nearest legitimate decendant of Henry VII.: but that, if Elizabeth were willing to submit the controversy to his arbitration, she should receive from him every indulgence which justice could allow.[6]

Deliberation respecting religion.

The reader will recollect that, during the reign of her sister, Elizabeth had professed herself a convert to the ancient faith. The catholics were willing to believe that her conformity arose from conviction: the protestants, while they lamented her apostacy, persuaded themselves that she feigned sentiments which she did not feel. It is probable that in her own mind she was indifferent to either form of worship: but the moment she ascended the throne, a catholic competitor appeared: Mary Stuart, at the command of her father-in-law, assumed the title of queen of England, and quartered the English arms with those of Scotland and France: and the answer of the pontiff proved, what was already known, that on catholic principles, Elizabeth had no "hereditary right to the crown." The new ministers, whose prospects depended on the change, urged their mistress to put down a religion which proclaimed her a bastard, and to support the reformed doctrines, which alone could give stability to her throne. After some

[6] Pallavicino, ii. 521.

CHAP. IV.

hesitation Elizabeth complied: but the caution of Cecil checked the precipitancy of the zealots, who condemned every delay as an additional offence to God: and a resolution was adopted to suppress all knowledge of the intended measure, till every precaution had been taken to ensure its success.[7]

The plan proposed.

With this view the following plan was submitted to the approbation of the queen: 1°. to forbid all manner of sermons, that the preachers might not excite their hearers to resistance: 2°. to intimidate the clergy by prosecutions under the statutes of præmunire and other penal laws: 3°. to debase in the eyes of the people all who had been in authority under the late queen, by rigorous inquiries into their conduct, and by bringing them, whenever it were possible, under the lash of the law: 4°. to remove the present magistrates, and to appoint others, "meaner in substance and younger in "years," but better affected to the reformed doctrines: 5°. to name a secret committee of divines, who should revise and correct the liturgy published by Edward VI.: and lastly, to communicate the plan to no other persons than Parr, the late marquess of Northampton, the earls of Bedford and Pembroke, and the lord

[7] Nonnulli ex intimis consiliariis in aures assidue insusurrarunt, dum timerent ne animus in dubio facillime impelleretur, actum de ipsa et amicis esse, si pontificiam auctoritatem, &c. Camden, 30.

John Gray, till the time should arrive, when it must be laid before the whole council.[8]

Hitherto Elizabeth, by the ambiguity of her conduct, had contrived to balance the hopes and fears of the two parties. She continued to assist, and occasionally to communicate, at mass: she buried her sister with all the solemnities of the catholic ritual; and she ordered a solemn dirge, and a mass of requiem for the soul of the emperor Charles V. But if these things served to lessen the apprehensions of the catholics, there was also much to flatter the expectations of the gospellers. The prisoners for religion were discharged on their own recognizances to appear whenever they should be called: the reformed divines returned from exile, and appeared openly at court: and Oglethorpe, bishop of Carlisle, preparing to say mass in the royal chapel, received an order, which he refused to obey, not to elevate the host in the royal presence.[9]

Dec. 14.

Dec. 23.

Resistance of the catholic prelates.

By degrees the secret was suffered to transpire. The bishops saw with surprise that White, of Winchester, had been imprisoned for his sermon at the funeral of queen Mary,[10] and that Bonner of London, was called upon to ac-

[8] See a paper published by Burnet, ii. 327: and more accurately by Strype, Annals, i. rec. 4.

[9] Camden, 32, 33. Allen, Answer to English justice, 51.

[10] This sermon may be seen in Strype's Memorials, iii. rec. 278—283.

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count for the different fines which had been levied in his courts during the last reign. Archbishop Heath either received a hint, or deemed it prudent, to resign the seals, which, with the title of lord keeper, were transferred to sir Nicholas Bacon. But that which cleared away every doubt, was a proclamation, forbidding the clergy to preach, and ordering the established worship to be observed "until consultation might be "had in parliament by the queen and the three "estates."[11] Alarmed by this clause, the bishops assembled in London, and consulted whether they could in conscience officiate at the coronation of a princess, who, it was probable, would object to some part of the service, as ungodly and superstitious, and who, if she did not refuse to take, certainly meant to violate, that part of the oath, which bound the sovereign to maintain the liberties of the established church. The question was put, and was unanimously resolved in the negative.

Jan. 3.

Dec. 22.

Dec. 27.

Queen is crowned.

This unexpected determination of the prelates created considerable embarrassment. Much importance was still attached to the right of coronation. It was thought necessary that the ceremony should be performed before the queen met her parliament; and it was feared that the

[11] Wilk. Con. iv. 180. It allowed no other alteration in the service than the recital in English of the Lord's prayer, the creed, the litany, the commandments, and the epistle and gospel of the day, as was practised in the queen's chapel. Ibid.

people would not consider it valid, unless it were performed by a prelate of the establishment. Many expedients were devised to remove or surmount the difficulty; and at last the bishop of Carlisle separated himself from his colleagues. But if he was prevailed upon to crown the queen, she on her part was compelled to take the accustomed oath, and to conform to all the rights of the catholic pontifical. No expense was spared by the court or by the citizens; but the absence of the prelates threw an unusual gloom over the ceremony. Their example was imitated by the duke of Feria, the Spanish ambassador, who was invited but refused to attend.[12]

1559. Jan. 2.

Jan. 15.

Opening of parliament.

Cecil had now completed every arrangement preparatory to the meeting of parliament. Five new peers, of protestant principles, had been added to the upper house:[13] in the lower, a majority had been secured by the expedient of sending to the sheriffs a list of court candidates, out of whom the members were to be chosen;[14] and the committee of reformed divines, who had secretly assembled in the house of sir Thomas Smith, had moulded the book of common prayer

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[12] Camden, 33.

[13] They were William Parr, restored to his title of marquess of Northampton; Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford; Thomas, second son of the late duke of Norfolk, viscount Howard of Bindon; sir Oliver St. John, lord Bletso; and sir Henry Carey, son of Mary Boleyn, lord Hunsdon.

[14] Strype, i. 32. The court named five candidates for the shires, three for the boroughs. Clarendon Papers, 92.

CHAP. IV.

Jan. 25.

into a less objectionable form. On the twenty-fifth of January the queen assisted in state at a solemn high mass, which was followed by a sermon from Dr. Cox, a reformed preacher. The lord keeper then opened the parliament in her presence. He first drew a melancholy picture of the state of the realm under queen Mary, and next exhibited the cheering prospect of the blessings which awaited it under the new sovereign. She had called the two houses together that they might consult respecting an uniform order of religion; might remove abuses and enormities; and might provide for the safety of the state against its foreign and domestic enemies. They were not, however, to suppose that their concurrence was necessary for these purposes—the queen could have effected them, if she had so pleased, of her own authority—but "she rather sought contentation by assent, and "surety by advice: and was willing to require "of her loving subjects nothing which they "were not contented freely and frankly to "offer."[15]

Address of the commons. Feb. 4.

Before the commons proceeded to any business of importance, they voted "an humble but "earnest address to the queen, that she would "vouchsafe to accept some match capable of "supplying heirs to her majesty's royal virtues "and dominions." It was presented by the

[15] D'Ewes, 11.

CHAP.

speaker, attended by thirty members. There was, perhaps, no subject on which Elizabeth could less brook the officious interference of others; but on this occasion policy taught her to bridle her resentment: and she replied, that, though during the last reign she had many powerful inducements to marry, she had, nevertheless preferred, and still continued to prefer, a single life. What might hereafter happen, she could not foresee: if she took a husband, her object would be the welfare of her people: if she did not, God would provide a successor. For herself, she should be content to have it inscribed on her tomb, that she had reigned and died a maiden queen. But whatever she thought of the matter, she was pleased with the manner of their address; because it did not, as it ought not, presume to point out either the person or the place. It was not for them "to draw her "love to their liking, or to frame her will by "their fantasy. Theirs it was to beg, not to "prescribe; to obey, not to bind." She would, therefore, take their coming in good part, and dismiss them with her thanks, not for their petition, but for their intention.[16]

Feb. 10.

For reasons which are not obvious, the ministers had determined to avoid all discussion respecting the legitimacy of the queen, or the attainder of her mother. Both the act declaring

Act in favour of the queen.

[16] D'Ewes, 46. and Journals of Commons, 54.

CHAP. IV.

the marriage of Henry with Anne Boleyn to have been void from the beginning, and that convicting the latter of incest, adultery, and treason, were allowed to remain uncontradicted in the statute book. But in favour of the queen it was enacted, that she was heir in blood to her mother: that she was rightly, lineally and lawfully descended of the blood royal of the realm: that to her, and to the heirs of her body "lawfully to be begotten," the crown, with its appurtenances, belonged as rightfully as it ever did to her father, brother, and sister: that the act of the 35th of Henry VIII. limiting the succession, still remained in force; and that to dispute the queen's title, or to imagine her death or deposition, or that of the heirs of her body, should be punishable, if the offence was committed in words, with forfeiture of goods and chattels, and lands, for life; if by writing, printing, or any overt acts, with the penalties of high treason.[17]

Ecclesiastical enactments.

But the subject which principally occupied the attention of parliament was the alteration of religion. With this view, the statutes passed in the late reign for the support of the ancient faith were repealed, and the acts of Henry VIII. in derogation of the papal authority, and of Edward VI. in favour of the reformed service, were in a great measure revived. It was enacted that the book of common prayer, with certain

[17] St. 1 Eliz. 4, 5.

additions and emendations, should alone be used by the ministers in all churches, under the penalties of forfeiture, deprivation, and death: that the spiritual authority of every foreign prelate within the realm should be utterly abolished: that the jurisdiction necessary for the correction of errors, heresies, schisms, and abuses, should be annexed to the crown; with the power of delegating such jurisdiction to any person or persons whatsoever, at the pleasure of the sovereign:[18] that the penalty of asserting the papal authority should ascend, on the repetition of the offence, from the forfeiture of real and personal property, to perpetual imprisonment; and from perpetual imprisonment to death, as it was inflicted in cases of high treason: and that all clergymen taking orders, or in possession of livings; all magistrates and inferior officers having fees or wages from the crown; all laymen suing out the livery of their lands, or about to do homage to the queen, should under pain of deprivation and incapacity take an oath, declaring her to be supreme governor in all ecclesiastical and spiritual things or causes as well as temporal, and renouncing all foreign ecclesias-

[18] It was, however, provided that these delegates should not have the power to adjudge any matter to be heresy, which had not been so adjudged by some general council, or the express words of scripture, or should afterwards be adjudged to be so by the high court of parliament, with the assent of the clergy in convocation. St. 1 Eliz. c. 1.

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tical or spiritual jurisdiction or authority whatsoever within the realm.[19]

Opposition of the clergy.

On the part of the clergy, these bills experienced a most vigorous but fruitless opposition. The convocation presented to the house of lords,

Feb. 28. a declaration of its belief in the real presence, transubstantiation, the sacrifice of the mass, and the supremacy of the pope; with a protestation, that to decide on doctrine, sacraments, and discipline, belonged not to any lay assembly, but to the lawful pastors of the church.[20] Both uni-

March 10. versities subscribed the confession of the convocation: and the bishops unanimously seized every opportunity to speak, and to vote against the measure.[21] To dissolve or neutralize this opposition, an ingenious expedient was devised. Five bishops and three doctors on the one side, and eight reformed divines on the other, received the royal command, to dispute in public on certain controverted points. Bacon, the lord keeper, was commissioned to act as moderator; and the debates of the two houses were sus-

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[19] See note (G). Many other bills for a further reformation were introduced and abandoned. Particularly the queen would not agree to the revival of the act of Edward VI. legalizing the marriages of the clergy. They should be content, she said, if she connived at them: for she would never sanction them. "This," exclaims Sands, in a letter to Parker, "is nothing else than to bastard our children." Burnet, ii. rec. 332.

[20] Wilk. Con. iv. 179.

[21] The speeches of the archbishop of York, of the bishop of Chester, and of Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, may be seen in Strype, i. rec. 7. et seq.

pended, that the members might have leisure to attend to the controversy. It had been ordered that on each day the catholics should begin, and the reformers should answer: but on the second morning the prelates objected to an arrangement, which gave so palpable an advantage to their adversaries: and, when Bacon refused to listen to their remonstrances, declared that the conference was at an end. The council immediately committed the bishops of Winchester and Lincoln to the Tower, and bound the other six disputants in their own recognizances to make their appearance daily, till judgment should be pronounced.[22] It was pretended that they had deserved this severity by their disobedience: but the real object was, by the imprisonment of the two prelates, and the fear of the punishment which threatened the others, to silence the opposition in the house of lords. The bill in favour of the new book of common prayer was now read a last time, and was carried by a majority of three. Nine spiritual and nine temporal peers voted against it.[23]

April 3.

April 4.

[22] They attended daily from the 5th of April, till after the dissolution of the parliament, and on the 10th of May were fined, the bishop of Lichfield in 500 marks, of Carlisle 250 pounds, of Chester 200 marks, Dr. Cole 500 marks, Dr. Harpsfield 40 pounds, and Dr. Chedsey 40 marks. Strype, i. 87. rec. 41. Fox, iii. 822. Burnet, ii. 390. rec. 333.

[23] It is extraordinary that, in the journals of the lords, no trace remains of the proceedings during the week, in which this bill was read three times and passed, that is, from April 22, to May 1. Yet it appears, from the references in D'Ewes, p. 28, that the proceedings

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They are expelled.

Soon after the dissolution, Elizabeth sent for the bishops, required them to conform to the new statutes; and, on their refusal, drove them from her presence with expressions of contempt and resentment. It was still hoped that their obstinacy would yield to the rigour of the law. The oath of supremacy was tendered to each in succession; but all, with the exception of Kitchin of Landaff, sacrificed their situations and their liberty to the dictates of their conscience. The example was copied by the majority of the dignified clergy,[24] and the chief members of the universities: but among the lower order of churchmen, there were many who took the oath, some through partiality for the reformed doctrines, some through the dread of poverty, and others with the hope of seeing in a short time another religious revolution. With the aid of commissions, injunctions, and visitations, the church was gradually purged of the nonjuring clergy; but their absence was inadequately sup-

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were regularly entered. Two bishops were prevented from voting by their detention in the Tower: and Feckenham was also absent. The temporal peers were the marquess of Winchester, the earl of Shrewsbury, the viscount Montague, the lords Morley, Stafford, Dudley, Wharton, Rich, and North. D'Ewes, ibid.

[24] According to Camden, the number deprived for refusing the oath amounted to 14 bishops, 6 abbots and abbesses, 12 deans, 12 archdeacons, 15 heads of colleges, 50 prebendaries, and 80 rectors, Camden, 47. But as he is mistaken in the bishops, who were 15 instead of 14 (though one of those whom he mentions was dead); so I conceive he was mistaken in the rest. The catholic writers make the number much greater. See note (H) at the end.

plied by the jurors and the reformed preachers; and a new order of ministers was established, consisting of mechanics, who obtained a licence to read the service in the church, but were forbidden to administer the sacrament. At the head of the reformed hierarchy was placed Dr. Matthew Parker, formerly chaplain to Anne Boleyn, and dean of Lincoln in the reign of Edward VI. But several months elapsed before either the archbishop or his colleagues could enter on the exercise of their functions: several others before they could obtain the possession of their temporalties. The first impediment arose from the refusal of the catholic prelates to consecrate the new metropolitan, who was obliged to receive that rite from Barlow and Scory, two bishops who had conformed under Edward VI.:[25] the second from the rapacity of the ministers, who employed the interval to enrich themselves and their dependants. It might perhaps have been thought that the church could afford but a scanty gleaning after the spoliations of former reigns: but an act had been passed in the late parliament, annexing to the crown the first fruits, tenths, and rectories, which had been resigned by Mary, and authorising the queen, during the vacancies of the different sees, to exchange them for an equivalent in episcopal lands. Had such exchanges been fairly made,

Dec. 17.

[25] See note (I) at the end.

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there would have been less reason to complain: but the quantum of compensation depended on the equity or avarice of men, who were interested to give a nominal but fallacious equivalent; and the bishops elect, aware of the probable result, offered, in lieu of all exchange, a yearly present of one thousand pounds. But the offer was refused: and when the new incumbents entered on their respective bishoprics, they found that the best portion of the landed property had been torn away, to reward the real or pretended services of the courtiers and their dependants.[26]

Peace with France.

While the ministry were thus employed in the alteration of religion at home, their attention was also directed to an important negociation abroad. During the last summer the three belligerent powers, England, France, and Spain, alike exhausted by the war, had sent their respective commissioners to the abbey of Cercamps: but the conferences were interrupted by the obstinacy of Philip, who refused to accede to any terms that did not secure to the queen of England the restoration of Calais, and to Philibert of Savoy, that of his hereditary dominions. On the death of Mary, the earl of Arundel, leaving his colleagues, the bishop of Ely and Dr. Wotton, at the court of Brussels, returned to England: and the French king seized the opportunity to open a clandestine correspondence with Eliza-

[26] This offer of the bishops may be seen in Strype, i. 97.

beth, through the agency of the lord Gray, a prisoner of war, and of Guido Cavalcanti, a gentleman of Florence. His object was to detach the queen from her confederacy with Philip: but the English ministers, aware that to separate from Spain, would be to throw their mistress on the mercy of France, ordered the lord Howard of Effingham to join the resident ambassadors, and to attend, in conjunction with the Spanish envoys, the new conferences at Cateau Cambresis. The disputes between Spain and France were speedily arranged: and to cement the friendship between the two crowns, it was stipulated that Philip should marry the daughter, Philibert the sister of Henry. Faithful, however, to his engagements, the Spanish monarch refused to sign the treaty, till the English cabinet should be satisfied: and he even offered to continue the war for six years, provided Elizabeth would bind herself not to conclude a separate peace during that period. Cecil and his colleagues found themselves in a most perplexing dilemma. On the one hand, to surrender the claim to Calais would expose them to the hatred of the nation: on the other the poverty of the exchequer, the want of disciplined troops, and above all, the unsettled state of religion, forbade them to protract the war. The ambassadors were finally instructed to obtain the best terms in their power; but to conclude a peace, whatever sacrifices it might cost. With the aid of the

Dec. 30.

1559. Feb. 7.

Feb. 19.

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Spanish negociators, they debated every point, gradually receded from one demand to another; and ultimately subscribed to the conditions

April 2.

dictated by their adversaries. The restoration of Calais formed the prominent article in the treaty. It was agreed that the most christian king should retain possession during the next eight years; that at the expiration of the term he should restore the town with its dependencies to Elizabeth, under the penalty of 500,000 crowns; and that he should deliver, as security for that sum, the persons of four French noblemen, and the bonds of eight foreign merchants. This article was meant to cover the honour of the queen, and to amuse the expectations of the people: whatever expectation it might excite, was extinguished by the following provision, that if Henry, or the king and queen of Scotland, should make any attempt by arms directly or indirectly against the territories or subjects of Elizabeth; or Elizabeth against the territories or subjects of the other contracting parties, the former should from that moment forfeit all right to the retention, the latter, her claim to the restoration of the town.[27] It was evident that at the expiration of eight years, French ingenuity would easily discover some real or pretended infraction of the treaty, on which the king might ground his refusal to restore the place. This

[27] See the whole of the proceedings in Forbes, State Papers, i. 1—81.

consequence was foreseen by the public: the terms were condemned as prejudicial and disgraceful: and the ministers, to divert the indignation of the people, ordered the lord Wentworth, the governor of Calais, and Chamberlayne and Hurlestone, captains of the castle and the Risbank, to be brought to trial on charges of cowardice and treason. The former was acquitted by his peers: the latter were found guilty and condemned. But the trials had served the purpose of the court: and the sentence was never carried into execution.

April 22.

Dec. 20.

Peace with Scotland.

During the negociation no mention was made of one cause of offence, which had sunk deeply into the breast of Elizabeth. Ever since her accession she had, as heiress to the rights of her predecessor, styled herself queen of France. The title was ridiculous, in as much as by the fundamental laws of that kingdom no female could inherit the crown: but it had previously been adopted by Mary, and was considered the best expedient by which the queen could transmit this ancient, but useless bauble to her successors. Henry of France did not complain: but to retaliate, as he pretended, though there can be no doubt that he acted seriously,[28] he

[28] See Noailles, ii. 250. "You knowe," said the cardinal of Lorrain, "at that time we were at warre with youe: by meanes "whereof we spared not to do any thing that might toche youe in "honour or otherwise." Forbes, i. 340. In the peace which took place was an article saving to all parties their former pretensions;

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caused his daughter-in-law to adopt occasionally the style of queen of England and Ireland. This assumption not only wounded the pride, it alarmed the jealousy of Elizabeth: it proved to her, that in the estimation of Henry she was a bastard: and it taught her to apprehend that, on some future occasion, Mary Stuart might dispute with her the right to the English crown. She had, however, the prudence to suppress her feelings. She concluded a treaty of peace with Mary at Cateau Cambresis; engaged to afford no aid nor asylum to the Scottish rebels; and swore on the gospels faithfully to observe these conditions. But Cecil had at the same time a very different object in contemplation. He knew that the Scottish reformers had taken up arms in opposition to the queen regent, and he resolved to foment their discontent, and to support their rebellion. By enabling them to triumph over the authority of their sovereign, Elizabeth might wrest from the Scottish queen a renunciation of her claim: the French influence in Scotland would be annihilated: the new worship would be established: and the Scottish crown might probably be transferred from the head of Mary to that of a protestant branch of the house of Stuart. In private he carried his views even farther; and revealed to his confidential friends his hope that by the marriage of the

whence it was inferred that Mary was justified in using the same style afterwards Ibid. 339.

new sovereign with the English queen, the two realms might be incorporated into one powerful and protestant kingdom.[29] In the pursuit of such magnificent objects, it would indeed be necessary to violate the peace which had been so lately ratified, and to aid rebellious subjects against the legitimate authority of their sovereign: but in the political creed of the secretary, the end was held to sanctify the means; and his conduct during the war of the reformation in Scotland will develope those maxims of state, which during the greater part of Elizabeth's reign prevailed in the English council. Previously, however, it will be necessary to lay before the reader the origin of the contest between the Scottish lords and their sovereign.

Scottish reformation.

Of all the European churches there was perhaps not one better prepared to receive the seed of the new gospel than that of Scotland. During a long course of years the highest dignities had, with few exceptions, been possessed by the illegitimate[30] or younger sons of the

[29] That Cecil actually contemplated such events as the result of his policy, and that the Scottish reformers had the same objects in view, is evident from numerous passages in their private correspondence, some of which will be found in the following pages. See Sadler's State Papers, i. 377. 573. 681. Forbes, 147. 435, 436. Elizabeth asserts, in her instructions to lord Shrewsbury, that there had been an intent to deprive Mary of her crown, but that she prevented it. Cotton, MSS. Cal. c. ix. 50.

[30] James V. had provided for his illegitimate children by making them abbots and priors of Holyrood house, Kelso, Melrose, Coldingham, and St. Andrew's. It may be proper to observe, that these

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most powerful families, men who, without learning or morality themselves, paid little attention to the learning or morality of their inferiors. The pride of the clergy, their negligence in the discharge of their functions, and the rigour with which they exacted their dues, had become favourite subjects of popular censure: and when the new preachers appeared, they dexterously availed themselves of the humour of the time, and seasoned their discourses against the doctrines, with invectives against the vices, of the churchmen. Both the prelates, and the earl of Arran, the governor of the kingdom, were alarmed. The former assembled in convocation, and enacted several canons, which had for their object to regulate the morals of the clergy, to enforce the duty of public instruction, and to repress abuses in the collection of the clerical dues.[31] Arran, in two successive parliaments, revived the old statutes against the teachers of heretical doctrines; and strengthened them with the addition of new penalties.[32] But the transfer of the regency from Arran to the

1554. April 12.

commendatory abbots and priors received the income, but interfered not with the domestic economy of the monastery. Though they seldom took orders, they ranked as clergymen, and by their vices contributed to throw an odium on the profession. They became, however, converts to the new doctrines; and thus contrived to secure the lands of their benefices, or an equivalent, to themselves and their posterity.

[31] Wilkins, Con. iv. 46, 47. 69. 72. 78.

[32] Black Acts, 147. 151, 152. 154.

queen mother allowed the reformers time to breathe. During the struggle the lords, by whom they were favoured, had attached themselves to her interests; and they now expected forbearance, if not protection, from her gratitude. The number of the missionaries was increased by the arrival of several preachers, who fled from the persecution in England: and the 1555.
return of John Knox from Geneva, gave a new impulse to their zeal. The enthusiasm of this apostle, the severity of his manner, his rude but commanding eloquence, soon raised him to a high pre-eminence above his fellows. At his suggestion, the chief of the converts assembled in Mearns, and subscribed a covenant, by which they bound themselves to renounce for ever the communion of the established church, and to maintain what they held to be the true doctrine of the gospel. But his boldness was met with threats of vengeance: and preferring the duty of watching over the infant church to the glory of martyrdom, he hastened back to Geneva, whence by letters he supplied the neophytes with ghostly counsel, resolving their doubts, chastising their timidity, and inflaming their zeal. One thing he most earnestly inculcated, the distinction between civil and religious obedience. The former was due in civil matters to the civil magistrate: the latter to God alone: whence he drew this important inference, that, in defiance of the legislature and the sove-

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reign, it was their duty to extirpate idolatry wherever they found it, to establish the gospel, and in defence of their proceedings to oppose force to force.[33] This doctrine, the parent of sedition and civil war, was gratefully received, and practically adopted. The proselytes, inflamed by the lessons of their teacher, and the scriptural denunciations against idolatry, abolished, wherever they had power, the worship established by law, expelled the clergy, dissolved the monasteries, and gave the ornaments of the churches, often the churches themselves, to the flames.[34]

Marriage of Mary Stuart.

It was with pain that the queen regent viewed these illegal proceedings. But she dared not oppose or punish at a time, when the approaching marriage of her daughter to the dauphin of France admonished her to win by condescen-

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[33] Strype, 119. "Whilk thing, efter all humill requist, yf ye "can not atteane, then with oppin and solemp protestation of your "obedience to be given to the authority in all thingis not planelie "repugnying to God, ye lawfullie may attemp the extreamitie, whilk "is to provyd (whidder the autoritie will consent or no,) that Chrystis "evangell may be trewlie preachit, and his holie sacramentis rychtlie "ministerit unto you, and to your brethren the subjectis of "that realme. And farder ye lawfullie may, ye, and thairto is "bound, to defend your brethren from persecutioun and tiranny, be "it agains princes or emprioris to the uttermost of your power." Letter of Knox apud M'Crie, notes, p. 461.

[34] It is not true, that the burning of churches, &c. was begun by Knox at Perth. These excesses are mentioned thrice in the proceedings of the council held in Edinburgh, which was dissolved before the arrival of Knox in Scotland. Wilk. Con. iv. 208, 209. 211.

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sion, rather than alienate by severity. Her efforts were successful: both parties joined in gratifying her wishes: and the estates not only consented to the marriage, but named a deputation to assist at the ceremony. Mary Stuart had just completed her fifteenth year. She was married to Francis, a prince of nearly the same age, in the cathedral of Paris: he was immediately saluted by his consort, with the title of king-dauphin: and to cement the union of the two nations, the natives of each were by legislative acts naturalized in the other.[35]

1557. Dec. 14.

1558. April 24.

The reformers had been fully aware, that by consenting to the union of their young sovereign with the heir apparent of the French monarchy, they should yield a considerable advantage to the catholics: and therefore, to compound the matter with their consciences, they had, previously to the opening of the parliament, entered into a new religious covenant, the subscribers, with the earls of Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn at their head, assuming the title of "the congregation of the lord," bound themselves to strive to the death in the cause of their master, to procure and maintain faithful ministers of the gospel, to defend them, the whole congregation, and every member thereof, to the whole of their power, and at the hazard of their lives: to forsake the congregation of Satan (the established

1557. Dec. 3

[35] Keith, 74, 75.

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church), and to declare themselves manifest enemies to it, to its abominations, and its idolatry.[36]

Contest of reformers with the regent.

When the purport of this covenant became known, it was considered by the opposite party as a declaration of war. The archbishop of St. Andrew's, as if he sought to probe the sincerity of the subscribers, urged the execution of the laws made or revived under the administration of his brother, the late governor: and Walter Milne, originally a friar, but for many years a preacher of the new doctrines, suffered at the stake. His fate, instead of intimidating, aroused the zeal of the reformers. They rose in their demands: their opponents were equally importunate; and all the efforts of the regent to pacify and conciliate the two parties, proved ineffectual. At her request the archbishop convened a national council, by which the canons lately made were confirmed, and an abstract of doctrine was published in explanation of the tenets misrepresented by the missionaries.[37] But

1558. April.

[36] Keith, 66.

[37] It teaches, that it is lawful to beg of the saints their prayers in favour of sinners, and to keep the images of Christ and his saints as representations of them, and inducements to the imitation of their virtues: that there is a purgatory after the present life, in which is suffered the punishment yet due to sin: that in the eucharist is the true body and blood of Christ: that communion under both kinds is unnecessary: and that the sacrifice of the mass, established in remembrance of the sufferings of Christ, availeth through the merit of those sufferings, both the living and the dead. Wilk. Con. iv. 213.

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the lords of the congregation did not wait for the result of the council. They established the new service in Perth:[38] and the queen immediately summoned three of the preachers to answer at Stirling, for this new violation of the law. They refused to appear; and on the appointed day were, according to the forms of the Scottish judicature, condemned as outlaws, with a notification that all who might hereafter aid or protect them shall be treated as rebels.

1559. April 22.

Knox had long ago left Geneva: but had been detained six weeks at Dieppe, by a fruitless attempt to procure from Elizabeth a licence to travel through her dominions. He, however, reached Perth a few days before judgment was pronounced against the preachers. When the intelligence arrived, he hastened to the pulpit: May 11. the indignation which glowed in his breast, was soon communicated to his hearers: and the crowd, maddened by his invectives, defaced the ornaments of the church, demolished the magnificent fabric of the charter house, with several other convents, and threw into the flames whatever had been contaminated in their eyes, by its

[38] That the Scottish reformers used a written form of worship at first, is certain. (Knox, Hist. 101.) The only dispute is, whether it were the form used by the exiles at Geneva, or the liturgy of Edward VI. If the former, as is often maintained, they must have occasionally exchanged it for the latter, probably to please Elizabeth: for Cecil writes, July 9, 1559, "they have received the ser-"vice of the chirch of England, according to king Edward's booke." Forbes, i. 155.

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use in the established worship.[39] In the language of the saints, Perth was said to be "reformed."

Open war.

The regent, accompanied by the earl of Arran, who had assumed the French title of duke of Chastelherault, and the earl of Huntley, advanced towards Perth; and the congregationists assembled in force to oppose her progress. No blood was shed. As often as the armies met in the field, they were separated by a temporary suspension of hostilities. Projects of pacification were repeatedly proposed, adopted, broken and renewed. But on every occasion the advantage was on the part of the congregationists. Their zeal refused to be bound by any compact, which might interfere with their consciences: wherever they came they resumed their missionary labours, with the gospel in one hand,

June 29.

and the firebrand in the other:[40] and Crail, Anstruther, Scone, Stirling, Cambuskenneth, and Linlithgow, were purged from the pollutions of popery. As they advanced, the capital opened its gates; the regent sought an asylum in the

[39] This was not the first tumult excited by Knox. Cecil says he had already done the same at Dumfries. Forbes, 131.

[40] "At length," says Knox in a letter to Mrs. Anne Locke, "they were content to take assurance for eight days, permitting "unto us freedom of religion in the mean time. In the whilk the "abbay of Lindores, a place of black monkes, distant from St. "Andrewis twelve miles, we reformed; their altars overthrew we, "their idols, vestments of idolatrie and mass books we burnt in "their presence, and commanded them to cast away their monkish "habits." June 23, 1559. Apud M'Crie, 545. This was what he interpreted to be freedom of religion!

castle of Dunbar: and the cause of the royalists appeared desperate. But Scottish warfare was always marked with sudden alterations of misfortune and success. The adherents of the opposite parties generally acted independently of their chiefs: they joined or abandoned the army at their pleasure; and, it often happened that those who to-day could boast of a decided superiority, were compelled on the morrow to flee with diminished forces before a more powerful adversary. So it was on the present occasion. For some days the war was carried on by adverse proclamations: in the mean time the force of the insurgents dwindled away, that of the regent increased: she hastily marched towards Edinburgh: "the saints" trembled before the congregation of Satan: a capitulation was signed: and Edinburgh was again occupied by the royalists.[41] July 24.

There was in these proceedings of the Scots,

[41] About this time, July 10, died Henry, king of France: the reader may peruse in Robertson's History of Scotland an elaborate statement of the conciliatory measures which he ascribes to that monarch, but which, he pretends, were exchanged after his death for others of a more hostile description by the ambition of the princes of Lorrain, such as the expedition under Elbœuf, and the attempted arrest of the earl of Arran, that by sending so illustrious a victim to the stake they might strike terror into the minds of the reformers. Unfortunately the whole system is overturned by the dispatches of Throckmorton; from which we learn that the expedition was prepared, and the arrest attempted, by the orders of Henry himself, at the very time when Robertson represents the influence of the house of Guise, as reduced to the lowest ebb. Forbes, 97. 101. 118. 144 148, 149.

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Elizabeth supports the congregation.

as much perhaps of wordly policy as of religious fanaticism. While Knox animated the zealots with promises of supernatural aid, Cecil had kept alive the hopes of the more cautious with the prospect of support from the English queen. Their first proceedings had answered his expectations: but their subsequent retreat from the capital, and the military preparations on the coast of France, convinced him that they must make their peace with Mary, unless they were powerfully supported by Elizabeth. He applied to her in their favour: to his surprise and distress he found her irresolute. The queen hated the principles of Knox, and the fanaticism of his disciples:[42] she deemed it unworthy of a crowned head to foment rebellion among the subjects of a neighbouring and friendly sovereign: and she respected the oaths which she had so recently taken, to preserve the peace with the queen of Scots, and to refuse an asylum to all Scottish rebels and traitors. But the sophistry of Cecil had prepared answers to every objection. The queen of England had, he maintained, a better right to the superiority over Scotland, than Mary had to the possession of the Scottish crown: it was not a question between subjects and their natural prince, in which a foreign power had no right to interfere; but between vassals and the mesne lord, in which the superior was bound in

Aug. 5.

[42] See note (K) at the end.

honour and conscience to defend the liberties of the former against the tyranny of the latter. In the present case, however, self-preservation, a principle paramount to every other motive, concurred with the duty of Elizabeth. The French king looked on the queen as illegitimate, and esteemed his own wife the rightful heir to the English crown. Were he permitted to retain a footing in Scotland, Elizabeth could never enjoy security. Were he expelled by her aid, she would attach the Scots to her interests, and might despise the efforts of her enemies.[43] This appeal to her apprehensions and jealousy, extorted from the queen a reluctant and qualified assent. To deceive the public, the earl of Northumberland, sir James Sadler, and sir James Croft, were appointed to reform the disorders in the Scottish marches. But the religion of Northumberland, who was a catholic, rendered him unfit to be intrusted with the real object of the commission. His colleagues alone were admitted into the secret. They received instruc- Aug. 8.
tions to urge the Scots to the resumption of hostilities; to supply them with money; to promise them every kind of aid, which could be furnished without a manifest breach of the peace

[43] Though this may have been the first time that Elizabeth was urged to support the Scots, the connexion between her ministers and the insurgents was so well known, that even in May and June we find Throckmorton mentioning "the queen's service in Scotland," and recommending persons, "as fit to serve the queen's turn in Scot-land." Forbes, 101. 119. 147, 148.

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between the two queens: and to induce them, if it were possible, to depose Mary, and transfer the crown to the house of Hamilton.[44] The duke of Chastelherault, indeed, the head of that house, had hitherto been faithful to the cause of his sovereign: but his weakness, inconstancy, and ambition were well known; there could be no doubt that his allegiance would yield to the temptation of a crown for his descendants; and with that view it was resolved to hasten the return to Scotland of his eldest son, now called the earl of Arran.

Arran, who had lately imbibed the new doc-

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[44] Sadler, i. 387—411. The most singular of these documents is one written by Cecil, as a "memorial of certain points meet for the re-"storing of the realm of Scotland to the ancient weale." If Mary refuses certain demands which he specifies, the lords ought to commit the government to the next heir: and if she objects to that, "as it is "likely she will, then it is apparent that almighty God is pleased to "transfer from her the rule of the kingdom for the weale of it." He next observes, "that, when Scotland is once made free, means may "be devised through God's goodness to accord the two realms to "endure for time to come." Sadler, i. 375—377. From this paper, dated August 5th, it appears that he preferred the Hamiltons to the lord James. The same is more evident from the instructions given to Sadler. "You shall do well to explore the very truth, whether "the lord James do mean any enterprise towards the crown of "Scotland; and if he do, and the duke be found very cold in his "own cause, it shall not be amiss to let the lord James follow his "own desire therein, without dissuading or persuading him any "therein." Apud Chalmers, ii. 410. Throckmorton had written to Cecil on the 27th of July, "that there was a party in Scotland "for the placing of that nobleman in the state of Scotland, and that "he himself did, by all the secret means he could, aspire thereunto." Forbes, i. 180.

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trines, served in the French army as colonel of the Scottish guards, and, in that capacity was considered an honourable hostage for the loyalty of his father. Henry II. had summoned him to attend his duty at the intended marriages of the French princesses to the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy: but Arran, having sent an apology for his absence, suddenly disappeared, at the suggestion, it was believed, and with the aid of Throckmorton, the English ambassador.[45] It was in vain that the police endeavoured to trace the footsteps of the fugitive: Throckmorton's agents accompanied or followed him to Geneva, whence he wrote a letter expressive of his gratitude to the queen of England.[46] From Geneva he came in great privacy to London; was admitted to a secret

Arran escapes from France.

May 30.

July 6.

[45] This suspicion seems to have been well founded. Throckmorton repeatedly mentions it, but never so much as hints that it is false. Forbes, i. 136. 164. Robertson, from De Thou, says it was intended to charge Arran with heresy: but the ambassador, though he speaks of the flight and pursuit of the earl on twelve different occasions, never once alludes to any such intention.

[46] Elizabeth was highly displeased. "It seemeth," she says, "very "strange that the earl of Arran maketh mention in his letters, that "he hath cause to thank us for the offers made to hym by us. We "be in doubt what to thynk: and do much mislyke that any such "occasion should be gyven by any manner of message done to hym." Forbes, i. 167. The indiscreet gratitude of the earl had nearly revealed to the queen, the secret and unauthorized practices of her secretary. But what were these offers? If we may believe Persons, (and the queen's words seem to support his assertion) that in the event of success in the war against the queen regent, Elizabeth would marry Arran. Philopater, p. 90.

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interview with Elizabeth, and to several conferences with Cecil; and then continued his
Aug. 31. journey in disguise, under the assumed name of Beaufort, till, with the assistance of Sadler
Sept. 10. and Croft, he reached his father's castle of Hamilton.

The congregation in possession of Edinburgh.

Previous to his arrival, the English commissioners had successfully laboured to rekindle the flames of civil war. They had represented to the lords of the congregation the justice of their cause, which had for its object, "to extirpe ido-"latrie, and delyuer their country from foreign "gouernment:" the advantage they might derive from the willingness of the queen of England to afford them assistance; and the folly of postponing the attempt, till the regent should have acquired a decided superiority by the aid of her brothers of the house of Guise. At the same time the report, that it was intended to annex Scotland as a province to France, made a deep impression on the public mind: a promise of
Sept. 8. neutrality was obtained from the duke of Chastelherault: and several catholic lords engaged to draw their swords in defence of the liberties of their country. A resolution was now taken to rise in arms, and to justify the measure by charging the regent with two breaches of the capitulation of Edinburgh: 1°. by having ordered mass to be celebrated in Holyrood house; and 2°. by having received reinforcements from France. At this moment, Arran, whose arrival had been

hitherto concealed, made himself known. He was received with honours not due to a subject. His unexpected appearance, the report that he was the destined husband of the queen of England, and the seasonable distribution of two thousand pounds, advanced by Sadler, elevated the hopes of the associated lords. On the other hand, the queen regent assumed a tone of confidence and superiority. She offered peace, on the basis of real liberty of concience; and summoned her opponents to meet La Brosse and the bishop of Amiens, who had been furnished with full powers for that purpose.[47] But at the same time she informed them of her resolution and ability to maintain the rights of her daughter; ordered the town and harbour of Leith to be fortified; and boasted of the veterans who had lately arrived under Octaviano, a Milanese adventurer, and of the still more numerous force which she expected under her brother, the marquess d'Elbœuf. Her offer was, however, rejected: the duke openly joined the congregation; and the abbeys of Paislow, Kilwinning,

[47] Writers seem at a loss to understand the mission of La Brosse and the bishop of Amiens. It is thus explained by the cardinal of Lorrain. "They went about of their own authorite to alter religion, "which being advertised by the quene regent, commissions were sent "to have the mater comme to debating and deciding: because we "were desirous to stay the mater without rigeur. But they not "onely neglected to come to reason, but refused t'intend to the "commission." Forbes, i. 336. The offers of the queen, and the refusal of the lords, are mentioned in Sadler, i. 501, 502.

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and Dunfermlin, were dissolved. But the impatience of Sadler and Croft wished for open hostilities. They complained of the sluggishness of the confederates: and Knox, to aid their efforts, forged a letter from France to the lord James, prior of St. Andrew's, painting in the most vivid colours the danger of further procrastination.[48]

Oct. 18. At length the insurgents moved in considerable force towards Edinburgh, while the royalists retired within their intrenchments at Leith. In the capital two councils were formed, the one under the presidency of Chastelherault, for the dispatch of political business, the other under that of Knox, for the regulation of spiritual concerns. The first pronounced it expedient, the second lawful, to take from the regent the exercise of

Oct. 22. her authority: her deprivation was proclaimed by sound of trumpet: and she herself, as well as her aiders and abbettors, were declared enemies to the country. This was the first step towards the accomplishment of the plan devised by Cecil: the second, if no reverse had followed, would have been to disown the authority of the sovereign.[49]

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[48] At least Randall, the English agent in Scotland, believed it a forgery, "which I gesse to savor to muche of Knox stile to come from "Fraunce, though it will serve to good purpose." Sadler, i. 499. The prior of St. Andrew's was James Stewart, a bastard son of James V., by Margaret Erskine. He became an early proselyte to the reformed doctrines, and was created earl of Murray in 1562.

[49] If the reader turn back to note 44, he will see how exactly the insurgents had followed the directions of the English secretary. It

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Elizabeth sends them money.

The queen regent was still supported by the earl of Huntley, lord chancellor, by the earls Marischal and Bothwell, and by most of the bishops. Her force amounted to between two and three thousand veterans, Scots and Frenchmen, whose superior discipline and experience rendered them more than a match for the bravery and enthusiasm of the ten thousand men, led by the chiefs of the congregation, the duke, the lord James, and the earls of Arran, Glencairn, Cassilis, Monteith, and Eglinton. In an attack on the intrenchments at Leith, the latter were repulsed with some loss. Instead of condoling, Sadler and Croft rejoiced at their misfortune. "The affray," they exclaimed, "is "begun: blood has at last flowed, and it will "be long before it can be staunched."[50] But in Knox and Cecil it created a well-founded doubt of the ultimate result. Knox, in the most urgent terms, demanded the aid of two thousand English troops: and anticipating the objection which might be drawn from the existence of peace between the two crowns, suggested that they should serve as volunteers, in apparent opposition to the will of their sovereign,

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appears from Knox, that they intended to follow them to the end. He thus writes to Railton, one of the agents of the secretary: "She is "deprived of all authoritie and regiment among us.—The authoritie "of the French king and queene is yet receaved, and wilbe *in wourde*, "till thee deny our most just requeastes, which ye shall, God willing, "schortlie hereafter onderstand." Oct. 30. Sadler, i. 680.

[50] Ibid. 514.

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and under a sentence of outlawry and treason.[51] But Cecil, though he knew that "the Scots "could clyme no walls,"[52] dared not recommend so hypocritical a measure. He served a mistress, who, to use his own expression, "if to-day "she was more than man, would to-morrow "be less than woman." Elizabeth was imperious, but inconstant; jealous of her own safety, but also jealous of her reputation: willing to injure, by every means in her power, a rival queen, but unwilling to be considered by the world as the abettor of insurrection and treason. Hitherto she had been induced to approve of his connexion with the Scots: but it had required all the arts of the minister, all the intrigues of his confidential friends, to keep her steady to his purpose. Among these friends, the most useful was Throckmorton, the ambassador in France, who by transmitting reports often apocryphal, almost always exaggerated, and by suggesting as from himself to Cecil that advice, which Cecil dared not openly tender to the queen, had succeeded in confirming her jealousy, and keeping alive her apprehensions. Now he

Sept. 24. solicited and obtained the permission to return

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[51] Keith, App. 40. Cecil observes, with respect to this or some similar demand of Knox: "surelie I lyke not Knoxees audacitie, "which also was well tamed in your answer. His writings doo no "good here: and therefore I doo rather suppress them: and yet I "mean not but that ye shuld contynue in sendyng them." Sadler, i. 535.

[52] Ibid. 514.

home, ostensibly to visit his wife, who lay dangerously ill, in reality to communicate to his sovereign secrets, which he dared not commit to paper. What these secrets were, we shall afterwards learn. The result of his representations was, that the queen, on the ground "that it was true, that whensoever the French "should make an end with Scotland, they would "begin with England," authorized Cecil to aid the lords of the congregation with advice and money. For his greater security, she signed the warrant: and the few counsellors, who were in the secret, witnessed her signature.[53]

Oct. 11.

Nov. 12.

The next post, however, brought the most perplexing intelligence. The Scots had attacked the enemy near Restalrig. They were received with equal courage and superior skill; and after a sharp skirmish, had fled into the city. Though their loss did not exceed a hundred men; though Knox had summoned them to the church, to hear the "promises of God;" though the royalists had returned to their intrenchments at

They are driven from the capital. Nov. 6.

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[53] The witnesses were the earl of Pembroke, lord Clinton, lord Howard of Effingham, Parry, Cecil, Petre. Sadler, i. 566—573, and Wotton, ibid. note. Sadler had informed Cecil that the earl of Bothwell, the sheriff of the county of Edinburgh, had seized and carried off 1000*l.* which he had sent to the lords of the congregation. The secretary, aware of the parsimony of the queen, was careful to conceal the fact from her till she had signed the warrant. "Nevertheless," he adds, "hyr majestie shall knowe of the loss to-morrow, "though it will be to sone." Ibid.

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Leith; yet a sudden panic diffused itself through the capital: the pulpit of the apostle was deserted; the leaders shared in the consternation with their followers; and before midnight the road to Linlithgow was covered with fugitives of every description. The darkness added to their terrors: they persuaded themselves that the French gens d'armes were pursuing at their heels; nor did they slacken their speed till they
Nov. 7. had reached Stirling, a distance of thirty miles. Both saints and warriors were overwhelmed with shame and despondency: but Knox displayed his wonted confidence, and resumed the sermon which had been interrupted by their flight from Edinburgh. Why, he asked, had the army of God quailed before the uncircumcised Philistines? It was on account of their sins; of the ambition of this chieftain; of the avarice of another; of the lewdness of a third, and of the presumption and pusillanimity of all. But let them only turn to the lord; let them acknowledge their sinfulness and insufficiency; and the tribes of Israel would again prevail over the recreant Benjamites; the eternal truth of the eternal God would triumph over the efforts of idolatry and superstition. His eloquence rekindled the fanaticism and the hopes of his hearers: and the lords, though from the highest to the lowest they had individually smarted under the lash of his invective, tolerated the

boldness of the apostle for the benefit of that influence which he exercised over their followers.[54]

Aid of a fleet and army.

This intelligence, though it checked the exultation, invigorated the efforts, of Cecil. After a struggle of two days his influence in the English cabinet prevailed. The Scots were urged to proceed with their enterprise: they received promises of money to pay, and of officers to discipline, their forces: and were assured that a fleet should be equipped to intercept all communication between Leith and France; and that an army should be stationed on the borders, to avail itself of the first favourable opportunity to espouse their cause. In return it was required that they should send to London an accredited agent with a petition for support, that the queen might afterwards have some instrument to produce in justification of her conduct.[55] The person chosen for this office was the younger Maitland, of Lethington, a statesman of great abilities, who had been secretary to the queen regent, but lately deserting to the congregationists, had betrayed to them the secrets of his mistress. Maitland came clandestinely to London; presented to Elizabeth a

[54] Knox, Historie, 194—197. Sadler, i. 554. 563. Randall complains greatly of the lords: "Syns the taking of the money, and the "commying of the Frenchmen to the gates of Edinburgh, I have "found the most parte of our nobles and others such, as I knowe "not whome woorthilie to commend." Ibid.

[55] Sadler, i. 574—578. 581. 602.

CHAP. IV.

petition, which had been previously composed by Cecil and approved by herself;[56] and, when she asked him for a pledge of the fidelity of his employers, offered her the selection of six out of twelve hostages, the children of the first families in Scotland.

It chanced that one morning, at an early hour, Maitland was seen to enter the lodgings of Throckmorton. The circumstance awakened
Dec. 20. the suspicion of Gilles de Noailles, the French

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[56] Sadler, i. 569. 603.—Several writers have given Maitland credit for the ability displayed in this paper. They little knew that it was in reality the composition of Cecil. This minister having communicated it to the queen, sent it to Sadler, with instructions to conceal the real author, and to induce the Scots, "by practice," to adopt it for their own. Aware, however, that Sadler might find it difficult to reconcile those passages which contained protestations of allegiance to Mary, with the known intention of the parties to deprive her of the crown, he observes, "The allowance of ther "dutyes to the quen is here thought necessary both for contentation "of the world, and for the honour of the quene's majestye: and "therefore, whatsoever the Scots may be compelled to do hereafter "in that behalf, this seemeth very probable for the present." Ibid. 573. Sadler now began "to practice." He wrote a copy, and shewed it to Maitland as his own composition, when that envoy passed through Berwick on his way to London. He was induced to write it, he said, by his desire to aid the lords: and as he was well acquainted with the disposition of Elizabeth, he had hastily thrown together such arguments as he knew would make impression on her mind. Maitland, whether he suspected the artifice or not, admired the new petition, acknowledged that it was preferable to that which he had brought with him, sent it to the lords for signature, and afterwards presented it to the queen. Ibid. 603. Of this paper she afterwards made great use in her correspondence with the king of Spain, and probably with other powers.

ambassador, who immediately demanded, both from the queen and from the council, an explanation of the warlike preparations in the river and in the northern counties. Elizabeth assured him of her determination to maintain the peace of Cateau: and as a proof of her sincerity, wished that the curse of heaven might light on the head of that prince, who should be the first to violate it. The council replied, that Francis and Mary, by assuming the style and arms of England, had furnished ample ground for apprehension: and that while the French monarch continued to recruit his forces both at home and in Scotland, they should be wanting in their duty, if they did not advise the queen to prepare for the defence of her own dominions. Noailles, however, was not deceived. He denounced the hostile intention of the English cabinet to his sovereign, and to the queen regent of Scotland.[57]

The English fleet in the Frith.

The associated lords, encouraged by the sermons of Knox, and the assurances of Cecil, had called a general meeting at Stirling. But Stirling was suddenly taken by a detachment from the garrison of Leith. Thence the royalists penetrated into Fifeshire, burning the houses, and ravaging the lands of their adversaries. The flames spread to Kinghorn, Kirkcaldy, and Dysart. Arran and the lord James were compelled to shrink from the approach of a superior

Dec. 27.

1560. Jan. 8.

[57] Forbes, 284. Haynes, i. 213.

CHAP. IV.

enemy; and the repeated promises of succour from England, by daily adding to their disappointment, added to their distress. At length the royalists, followed at a distance by Arran, directed their march to St. Andrew's; and were

Jan. 23.

winding round the promontory of Kingcraig, when a fleet in the offing was descried advancing with crowded sails towards the shore. The two armies immediately halted: every eye was fixed on the sight: the Scots hailed the promised succours from England: their adversaries flattered themselves with the long expected arrival of D'Elbœuf from France. In a short time the nearest ships displayed the English colours: three small vessels belonging to the regent were captured; and the guns of the fleet were pointed against the royalists. The latter immediately began to retrace their steps; and it is a proof of their superior discipline that, during a retreat of six days through a hostile country, they suffered but inconsiderable loss.[58]

False account of its object.

Notwithstanding this act of hostility, Elizabeth affected great anxiety for the preservation of peace; and the task of vindicating the conduct of Winter, the English admiral, devolved on the duke of Norfolk, who now resided on the borders with the title of the queen's lieutenant in the north. Though Winter had sailed from the river for the express purpose of aiding the Scots,[59]

[58] Sadler, i. 665—671. 674—679. 682—685. 690—703.

[59] For Winter's instructions, see Keith, 116. and Chalmers, 28.

and had taken on board six hundred arquebusiers, to be opposed to the regular troops of the royalists; yet it was pretended that he had no other object than to convoy a fleet of victuallers to Berwick; that the violence of the weather had driven him into the Frith; and that the jealousy or the mistake of the French commanders who fired on him from the batteries at Leith, Brunt-island, and Inchkeith, had compelled him to make reprisals in his own defence. This specious but unfounded tale, was even embodied into an official dispatch, and authenticated by the signatures of the duke and his council.[60] But Noailles was too well informed of the real fact: he exclaimed against so impudent a falsehood; and extorted from Cecil, after many delays and evasions, a commission to inquire into the conduct of Winter.[61] The French court, how- Jan. 26.

[60] The signatures are of Tho. Norfolk, H. Westmorland, W. Dacre, T. Wharton, Raff. Sadleyr, F. Lecke. Haynes, i. 231. In a private letter the duke acknowledges that the earl of Westmorland, and the lords Wharton and Dacre, were not in the secret, but supposed the account to be true. Ibid. 233.

[61] This commission is directed to the duke of Norfolk, and expresses the queen's persuasion that Winter "wold not committ "any thing that shuld be any breach of the peace." Ibid. 258. Throckmorton, on his return to France, acted with equal deceit. When the cardinal of Lorrain complained of Winter's conduct, "I pretended ignorance, and said, that if Mr. Winter did contrary "to th' amitye, he might be assured, it was without your majestie's "commandement" Forbes, i. 335. Cecil, in a memorial to the king of Spain, has recourse to a different falsehood. He thus accounts for the expedition under Winter, and the army formed under the duke of Norfolk; "Ut verum fateamur (omnesque qui

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ever, thought it more dignified to be content with this appearance of justice, than to demand, without being able to enforce, satisfaction: the inquiry was dropped; and the English fleet continued to ride triumphant in the Frith.

Attempt to excite a civil war in France.

The queen had been drawn into the contest step by step against her own judgment and inclination. At first she consented only to furnish money; then her fleet was sent into the Frith, but ostensibly for a legitimate purpose: next we shall see her condescending to that, from which her pride had hitherto recoiled, and concluding a formal treaty with the subjects of another sovereign. The principal inducement was her knowledge of the projects cherished by the factious in France. Scarcely was the corpse of Henry II. laid in the grave, when Cecil undertook to excite in that country dissensions similar to those, which he had fomented in Scotland, by arming the princes of the blood and the reformers, against their new monarch, Francis II. By his instructions Throckmorton solicited a private interview with Antoine de Bourbon, the titular king of Navarre, who was known to favour the reformed doctrines. They met in the town of St. Denis at the hour of

1559. Aug. 22.

" hic sunt norunt esse verissimum) nos diu dubitatione aliqua esse " occupatos, an hæc discordia in Scotia inter Gallos et Scotos esset " ficta, ut sub eo colore haberent in armis justum exercitum, et " junctis utrinque copiis irrumperent subito in hoc regnum, et " præcipue caperent Berwicum." Forbes, i. 405.

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midnight. The ambassador, in general terms, stated to the king "the esteem of the queen for "his virtues, her wish to form an alliance with "him for the honour of God and the advance- "ment of true religion, and her hope that, by "mutually assisting each other, they might "prevent their enemies from taking any advan- "tage against God, or his cause, or either of "themselves as his ministers." Though Antoine understood the object of this hypocritical cant, he answered with caution; that he should be happy to have so illustrious an ally in so sacred a cause: but that for greater security he would correspond directly with the queen herself.[62] In a few days the young king intrusted to the duke of Guise and the cardinal of Lorraine, the uncles of his queen, the chief offices in the government. The ambition of the princes of the blood was disappointed; the king of Navarre, his brother the prince of Condé, and the admiral Coligni, Dandelot, and the cardinal of Chastillon, the three nephews of the constable Montmorenci, formed an association; and the reformers throughout France were secretly solicited to arm in their support. It was to inform the queen of their views and resources, that Throck- morton had come to England: and he was followed by La Renaudie, who had accepted the dangerous post of appearing at first as the leader

Dec.

[62] Forbes, i. 174. 212.

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of the insurgents. That adventurer soon returned, the bearer from Elizabeth of wishes for their success, and promises of support; men were secretly levied among the professors of the new doctrines in every province in France; and a day was appointed when they should rendezvous in the vicinity of the court, surprise the king and the queen, murder the cardinal and the duke of Guise, and place the government in the hands of the princes of the blood. It was at this moment that the duke of Norfolk received orders to conclude a treaty with the Scottish lords at Berwick. Though the French ambassadors offered to withdraw their forces from Scotland with the exception of a few companies, and to refer the matters in dispute between the insurgents and their sovereign to the arbitration of Elizabeth herself, the duke was ordered to proceed; and it was stipulated that the queen should maintain an English army in Scotland till the French were expelled from that kingdom, and that the Scots should never consent to the union of their crown with that of France, should aid Elizabeth with four thousand men in the case of invasion, and should give her hostages for their fidelity to these engagements.[63]

Treaty with the Scots.

Feb. 27.

In a few days the conspiracy in France burst forth, but was defeated by the vigour of the duke of Guise. La Renaudie perished in the

Declaration against the house of Guise. March 15.

[63] Haynes, 253.

conflict: and most of the other leaders were taken and executed. At this intelligence Elizabeth began to waver: but she was assured that a civil war would inevitably follow. Throckmorton urged her not to forfeit the golden opportunity; and the lords of the council solicited March 23. permission to commence hostilities on the following grounds; because it was just to repel danger; honourable to relieve the oppressed; necessary to prevent the union of Scotland with France, and profitable to risk a small sum for the attainment of that, which afterwards must cost a greater price.[64] The day after the pre- March 24. sentation of this memorial appeared a most extraordinary state paper, entitled a declaration of peace, but intended as a justification of war. It made a distinction between the French king and queen, and their ministers. The former were the friends of Elizabeth, who strictly forbade any injury to be offered to their subjects: the latter were her enemies, and to defeat their ambitious views she had taken up arms, and would not lay them down, till she had expelled every French soldier from the realm of Scotland.[65] The duke March 28.

[64] Forbes, i 390—396.

[65] Heynes, i. 268. "It is a poor revenge," said the cardinal of Lorrain to Throckmorton, "that hath been used of late by your "proclamation in England against my brother and me; but we "take it that it is not the queene's doing, but the perswasion of "thre or foure about her: and, as I trust to see shortlye that she "woll be better advised, so we hope that er it be long, she will "put her hand to punysh them for gyving her such advice." Forbes, i. 423. The original of the proclamation is in Cecil's handwriting.

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of Norfolk, who had collected an army on the borders, committed it to the care of lord Gray; the Scots and English joined: and the combined forces sat down before the intrenchments of Leith. But the operations of the siege were paralysed by the irresolute and contradictory humours of the queen. She wrote to the generals to prefer negociation to arms; rejected a new project of accommodation; permitted the French envoy to treat with the Scottish lords; ordered the siege to be pushed with vigour; and then reproached her ministers with having extorted her consent to that, which she foresaw must end in failure and disgrace. Her predictions were verified. The besiegers made their approaches without judgment; their batteries were ill-served, and ill-directed: and when the assault was made, one of the storming parties lost its way, the others found the scaling ladders too short. More than a thousand men perished in the advance and the retreat.[66]

April 6.

Failure of the siege of Leith.

May 6.

Negociation.

This check put an end to the war. The queen applauded her own foresight: and, though after a stormy debate with the secretary she consented to reinforce the army, she still insisted that he should proceed to Scotland, and extinguish by negociation the flame which he had kindled. He submitted with an evil grace; and, having instructed his friends to watch the intrigues of his political adversaries during his

[66] See the official letters in Haynes, 283—388.

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absence, set out on his unwelcome mission, with Wotton for his colleague.[67] At Newcastle they joined the French envoys, Randan and Montluc; and at Berwick signed a preliminary treaty. May 30.

But by this time the royalists had suffered a severe loss in the death of the queen regent, a princess of distinguished talents and moderation, who had sacrificed the health of her body and the peace of her mind in support of the interests of her daughter. During her indisposition she was received within the castle of Edinburgh by the humanity of the lord Erskine, who held that fortress by a commission from the three estates, and professed to observe the most scrupulous neutrality during the contest. From her death-bed Mary sent for the chiefs of the two opposite parties, recommended to their care the weal of the kingdom, and the rights of the June 14. June 10.

[67] See Cecil's letters in Forbes. "The queen's majestie reneweth "the opinion of Cassandra—God trieth us with many difficulties. "The queen's majestie never liketh this matter of Scotland: you "know what hangeth thereuppon. Weak hearted men, and flatterers "will follow that way—I have had such a torment herein with the "queen's majestie as an ague hath not in five fits so much abated— "What will follow of my going I know not: but I fear the success, "quia the queen's majestie is so evil disposed to the matter." Forbes, i. 454, 455, 456. 460. 500. The lord John Gray fears the influence of the Philippians during the absence of Cecil. By Philippians he means Arundel, Parry, Petre and Mason; Haynes, 251; but Killygrew pronounces them all honest men, with the exception of Mason. Pembroke and Clinton support Cecil. Forbes, i. 501. They were called Philippians, because Philip had remonstrated with Elizabeth on her disgraceful conduct, in aiding the rebels of another prince. Forbes, i. 402. Haynes, 281.

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sovereign, and saluting each of the lords, and giving her hand to the commoners, she publicly forgave every injury which she had received, and asked forgiveness of those whom she had of-

June 11. fended. The next day she expired, regretted by the catholics and the royalists, and esteemed by her very opponents. Knox alone was found to pour the venom of his slander over her grave.[68]

Treaty between Mary and the Scots.

The French commissioners had been empowered to grant an amnesty to the insurgents, provided they would return to their duty. The offer was accepted: but at the same time demands were made, which, while they left a nominal superiority to Francis and Mary, tended to transfer the exercise of the royal authority to the lords of the congregation. At first, Montluc and Randan defended with spirit the rights of the crown: but necessity compelled them to submit to more than their powers would justify:

July 6. and it was ultimately agreed, that after the removal of the French troops, with the exception of a small garrison in Dunbar, and another in Inchkeith, a convention of the three estates should be held; that out of twenty-four persons named by the convention, the queen should select seven, the estates five, to be intrusted with the government of the realm; that none but natives should hold the great offices of the

[68] It is not easy to explain how Robertson (i. 139. edit. 1791) could misinterpret, as he has done, the expressions of Lesley in describing the death of the queen. Lesley, Hist. 525.

crown; and that the king and queen should neither declare war nor conclude peace without the consent of the estates. To these conditions, humbling as they were, was appended a demand that the new worship should be established. But on this point the commissioners refused to yield: Cecil himself condemned the fanaticism of the zealots; and it was reserved for Maitland to pacify them with a promise, that a deputation, named by the convention, should lay this request before Francis and Mary.[69]

Between Mary and Elizabeth.

At the same time another treaty was in progress between the French and the English commissioners. The evacuation of Leith, and the removal of the foreign troops offered no difficulty: but Cecil demanded the restoration of Calais as an indemnity for the injury offered to Elizabeth by the assumption of her title; and moreover an express ratification of the treaty lately concluded at Berwick between the duke of Norfolk and the Scottish insurgents. On these questions much diplomatic finesse was displayed: and the conferences were repeatedly interrupted and resumed, till at length by mutual concession a treaty was concluded. Francis and Mary were made to promise that, as the

July 6

[69] "Our travail is more with the lords of Scotland than with the "French, I find some so depely perswaded in the matter of religion, as "nothing can perswade them that may appear to hynder it. My "lord of Lidyngton (Maitland) helpeth much in this, or els surely I "see folly would hazard the whole." Haynes, i. 333. See note (L).

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English and Irish crowns belonged of right to Elizabeth, they would cease to bear the arms, or use the style of England and Ireland; the question of compensation was referred to the equitable decision of the king of Spain; and it stipulated that, as the French king and queen had made several concessions to their Scottish subjects, at the petition of the English queen, so they should ratify those concessions, whenever the Scots themselves had fulfilled the conditions on which they had been granted.[70]

Refusal to ratify it.

Such was the termination of the Scottish war, which disgraced the English ministry in the estimation of foreign courts, and realized only a few of the magnificent promises made by Cecil and his associates. Elizabeth, however, was taught to set a high value on the sixth article of the peace, by which her right to the English crown was recognised, and the Scottish queen was debarred from using the title, or bearing the

Sept. 2.

arms, of England and Ireland. She hastened to ratify the treaty herself; but her eagerness was met with equal reluctance on the part of Francis and Mary, who grounded their refusal on the want of authority in their commissioners, and the subsequent misconduct of their Scottish subjects. The lords of the congregation had called a convention of the estates without the royal commission; had abolished throughout

[70] Rym. xv. 593. Haynes, i. 354.

the realm the worship hitherto established by law; and had refused compensation to the churchmen, who had suffered losses during the late insurrection; three points in direct contradiction to the accord of Edinburgh.[71] They had even sent an embassy to Elizabeth, as if they possessed the sovereign authority: and, what perhaps proved more offensive to the pride of the French cabinet, that embassy consisted of peers, while no more than a single knight, sir John Sandilands, had been deputed to their own sovereign. When Throckmorton required that Francis and Mary should ratify the treaty, they replied, that the Scots had fulfilled no one of the conditions of the accord; that they had acted as if they formed a republic independent of the sovereign; that Elizabeth continued to support them in their disobedience; and that she had already broken the ancient treaty, by admitting into her kingdom, and into her presence, the deputies of the congregation, without the previous consent of their sovereign.[72] Nov. 17.

In less than a month, Francis, a weak and sickly prince, died of an imposthume in the ear. By this event, the near connexion between France and Scotland was dissolved: and, as the dangers conjured up by the jealousy of Cecil, had now vanished, Mary persuaded herself that she might assume without molestation the Death of Francis II. Dec. 5.

[71] See note (M). [72] Hardwicke papers, i. 126. 129.

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government of her native kingdom. Such, however, was not the design of the English ministry. They observed that she might marry a second time, and that with a new husband her former pretensions might revive, a contingency against which it was their duty to provide. With this view a resolution was taken to prevent, or at least to retard, the return of Mary Stuart to Scotland. Winter continued to cruise in the Frith:

1561. March 17.

and Randolph, the English agent, received instructions to remind the lords of the congregation of their obligations to Elizabeth; to advise the conclusion of a perpetual league with England during the absence of the queen; and to suggest a form of association, which should have for its chief object to compel her to marry one of her own subjects.[73] Elizabeth had no reason to complain of the backwardness of the Scots: Chastelherault, Argyle, Morton, and Glencairn, made her the tender of their services; Maitland promised to betray to Cecil the plans and mo-

April 4.

tions of Mary and her friends; and the lord James, having proceeded to France to assure his sister of his attachment and obedience, on

May 4.

his return through England advised Elizabeth to intercept her on the sea and to make her a prisoner.[74] With these noblemen loyalty and morality appear to have been empty names.

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[73] Haynes, 366. Keith, 156. App. 94.

[74] Camden, i. 82. Keith, 163. App. 91. Chalmers, from letters in the paper office, ii. 288.

Personal interest was their sole object, and in pursuit of this they cared little whether they served their sovereign or her adversary.

Mary had been left a widow at the age of eighteen. She spent the winter among her maternal relatives in Lorrain, and consoled her grief by writing elegies on her departed husband. But the English envoys, the earl of Bedford, Mewtas, and Throckmorton, allowed her little respite with their repeated demands of the ratification of the treaty. To all she made the same reply: that, since the death of Francis, her uncles had refused to give her advice, that they might not be said to interfere in the concerns of Scotland: that on a subject, which so deeply affected the rights of her crown and her people, she could not be expected to answer without the aid of official advisers: but that, on her return to her dominions, she would consult the estates, and do whatever they should judge reasonable. These refusals irritated Elizabeth: they confirmed the suspicions, which had been previously suggested by her counsellors; and when D'Oyselles requested permission for Mary to pass through England to Scotland, she refused in a tone of vehemence, and with expressions of reproach, which betrayed the exacerbation of her mind.[75] Throckmorton soon after-

Mary refuses to ratify the treaty.

Jan. 5. Feb. 19. April 13. June 23.

June.

July 20.

[75] "So many reasons," says Cecil, "have induced us to deny the "request, that I think it shall be of the wise allowed, and of our "friends in Scotland most welcome." These reasons were, that

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wards waited on the Scottish queen to justify the conduct of his sovereign. When Mary saw him, she ordered her attendants to retire: "that," said she, "if like the queen of England I can-"not command my temper, I may at least have "fewer spectators of my weakness." To his reasons she replied: "your mistress reproaches "me with my youth—it is a defect which will "soon be cured—but she might reproach me "with my folly, if, young as I am, without hus-"band or council, I should take on myself to "ratify the treaty. When I have consulted the "estates of my realm, I will return a reasonable "answer. I only repent that I had the weak-"ness to ask of your sovereign a favour which "I did not want. I came here in defiance of "Edward VI.: I will return to Scotland in defi-"ance of his sister. I want nothing of her but "her friendship: if she choose, she may have "me a loving kinswoman, and a useful neigh-"bour: for it is not my intention to intrigue "with the discontented in her kingdom, as she "intrigues with the discontented in mine."[76]

he returns to Scotland.

The English queen was not unmindful of the advice suggested by the lord James, which was again inculcated, not only by him, but also by

"the very expectation of the queen's coming had erected up Hunt-"ley, Bothwell, Hume, and her other friends, and that the longer "her affairs should hang in uncertainty, the longer it would be "ere she should have such a match in marriage as might offend "the English court." July 14, 1561: Hardwick papers, i. 172, 173.

[76] Cabala (edit. 1663,) p. 374—379.

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Morton and Maitland,[77] and a fleet was collected in the Downs, for the purpose, as was pretended, of cruising against pirates in the narrow seas. Though Mary suspected that it had a different object, she did not allow herself to be diverted from her intended voyage. Accompanied by three of her uncles, and several French and Scottish noblemen, she sailed from Calais, with two galleys and four transports. As long as the coast remained in view, she fixed her eyes on the land, in which she had lived from her childhood, and had reigned as queen: then stretching out her arms, exclaimed, "Fare-"well, beloved France, farewell." The next day a thick fog arose; a propitious circumstance; for, though the English admiral fell in with the squadron, though he captured one of the transports carrying the earl of Eglington, and two others laden with the queen's mules, he did not discover, or could not overtake, the galleys. On the fourth day Mary approached the land of her fathers with mingled emotions of hope and apprehension. To disappoint the machinations

Aug. 15.

Aug. 19.

[77] Camden, 82. "I have shown," says Randolph, "your "honour's letters unto the lord James, lord Morton, lord Liding-"ton. They wish, as your honour doth, that she might be stayed "yet for a space: and, if it were not for their obedience sake, "some of them care not though they never saw her face. Liding-"ton findeth it ever best that she come not; but if she do come, "to let her know at the first what she shall find, which is due "obedience and willing service, if she embrace Christ, and desire "to live in peace with her neighbours." Robertson, App. Vol. i. No. v.

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of her enemies, she had arrived a fortnight before the appointed time. No preparations were made for her reception: but the whole population, nobles, clergy, and people, poured to Leith to testify their allegiance to their young and beautiful sovereign. Her fears were dispelled: with a glad and lightsome heart she mounted her palfrey; and entered the capital amidst the shouts and congratulations of her subjects. It was to her a day of joy and happiness; perhaps the only one that she was destined to experience in Scotland.[78]

Elizabeth's suitors.

Before I conclude this chapter, I may call the attention of the reader to the private history of Elizabeth in the commencement of her reign. Her repeated asseverations that she preferred the state of celibacy to that of marriage, obtained but little credit. Under her sister such language might be dictated by policy: at present it might serve to free her from the addresses of those whom she disliked. But no man would believe

[78] Camden, i. 82. Lesley, 535. Goodall, i. 176. Combining the hostile behaviour of the English fleet with the advice so frequently given to Elizabeth to stay the coming of Mary to Scotland, we can hardly doubt, any more than her contemporaries did, that the real object was to conduct the Scottish queen to England. Probably the instructions given to the admiral were like those formerly given to Winter, to seek and invent pretexts for hostilities. As the attempt did not succeed, itwas necessary to deny it. Elizabeth wrote to Mary, that she had sent a few barks to sea, to cruise after certain Scottish pirates, at the request of the king of Spain, (Keith, 181, 182. Robertson, App. vii.) and Cecil wrote to Throckmorton, "that "the queen's majesty's ships that were on the seas, to cleanse "them from pirates, saw her and saluted her galleys: and staying "her ships, examined them gently. One they detained as vehe- "mently suspected of piracy." Hardwicke papers, i. 176.

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that she spoke her real sentiments ; and there were many, both among foreign princes and native subjects, whose vanity or ambition aspired to the honour of marrying the queen of England.

Philip.

1°. Of foreign princes the first was Philip of Spain. His ambassador, the duke of Feria, made the proposal when he congratulated her on her accession. Elizabeth was surprised and perplexed. She remembered, with thankfulness, her former obligations to Philip : and was aware, that with him for her husband, she had no reason to fear the exertions of France in favour of Mary Stuart. But, on the other hand, she had always disapproved of his marriage with Mary ; she intended to abolish the religion which he supported : and, as he was related in the same degree of affinity to her, as Henry VIII. had been to Catharine, she could not marry him without acknowledging that her mother had been the mistress, not the wife, of her father. She returned a civil but evasive answer. Her confidants, however, were not without solicitude. She often spoke of Philip in terms of esteem, praised his person and his talents, and ordered his picture to be placed in her bed-chamber. But the king was a lover from policy more than affection : and in a few weeks he contracted a marriage with the daughter of France.[79]

Charles of Austria.

2°. The place of Philip was supplied by his cousin Charles of Austria, son to the emperor

[79] Camden, i. 28. 30. From the original papers at Simancas it appears that on Jan. 10, 1559, Philip from Brussels ordered the

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Ferdinand. The family connexions of the prince promised equal support against the rivalry of Francis and Mary: to his person, talents, and acquirements, no objection could be adduced: but his religion opposed, if not in the opinion of the queen, at least in that of her counsellors, an insuperable obstacle to his suit. Elizabeth's vanity was indeed flattered, and she intimated a wish to see the archduke in England. It was generally understood, that he had resolved to visit his intended bride under an assumed character: and, in foreign courts, an idea prevailed, that the marriage was actually concluded: but the emperor conceived it beneath his dignity to proceed with so much precipitancy, and opened a negociation, which defeated his own purpose. Though he was induced to withdraw his first demand to the church for the celebration of the catholic service in London; though he consented that Charles should, on occasions of ceremony, attend the queen to the

1559. Nov.

ambassador to make the proposal in form. It was graciously received, and on the 27th he wrote to the queen on the subject himself. But on the 27th of Feb. Feria received orders to remonstrate against any change in religion, which would render it impossible for the king to think of the marriage, and to procure a definitive answer. April 3d, Elizabeth told the ambassador, that she had no inclination to marry, and in the present case she had scruples, whether a papal dispensation would be valid. To his remarks respecting religion, she replied that she believed in the real presence, and thought of establishing the Augustan confession, or something like it. "Que queria que in su "regno se guardasse la confession Augustana, o otro cosa como "aquello, que in mui poco diferia de nosotros, porque creia que Dios "estaba in il sacramento de la eucharitia, y que de la Misa la "descontentaban tres o quatro cosas." MSS. at Simancas,

protestant worship; still he insisted that his son should possess a private chapel for his own use, and that of his catholic family. To this it was replied, that the laws of the realm allowed of no other than the established liturgy; and that the conscience of the queen forbade her to connive at the celebration of an idolatrous worship. So uncourteous an answer cooled the ardour of the young prince, and offended the father: at the death of Francis, Charles turned his attention towards the widow queen of Scotland: and the subject was dropped without any expression of dissatisfaction by either party.[80]

3°. While the Austrian was thus preferring his suit, arrived in England, John, duke of Finland, to solicit the hand of the queen for his brother Eric, king of Sweden. He was received with royal honours, and flattered with delusive hopes. To the queen he paid incessant attention: sought to win the good will of her favourites by his affability and presents; and as he went to court, usually threw money among the populace, saying that he gave them silver, but the king would give them gold. To Eric, a protestant, no objection could be made on the ground of religion; finding, however, that his suit made little progress, he grew jealous of his brother, and recalling him, confided his interests to the care of an ambassador. At the same time he sent Elizabeth eighteen piebald horses, and several chests of bullion, with an intimation, that he would quickly follow in

Eric of Sweden. 1559. Sept. 27.

Oct. 5.

1561. Oct. 3.

[80] Camden, 53. Strype, i. 150. Haynes, 216.

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person to lay his heart at her feet. The queen had no objection to the present; but to relieve herself from the expense and embarrassment of a visit, she requested him, for his own sake, to postpone his journey, till the time when she could make up her mind to enter into matrimony. That time never came: his patience was exhausted: and he consoled himself for his disappointment by marrying a lady who, though unequal in rank to Elizabeth, could boast of superior beauty, and repaid his choice by the sincerity of her attachment.[81]

Adolphus of Holstein.

4°. Jealousy of the power of Eric, induced the king of Denmark to set up a rival suitor in the person of Adolphus duke of Holstein. The prince was young, handsome, and (which exalted him more in the eyes of Elizabeth) a soldier and a conqueror.[82] On his arrival he was received with honour, and treated with peculiar kindness. He loved and was beloved.[83] The queen made him knight of the garter: she granted him a pension for life: still she could not be induced to take him for her husband.

1560. March 20.

[81] Sadler, i. 507. Hardwicke papers, i. 173, 174. Camd. i. 67. Strype, i. 192—194. 234. 236. The whole court was thrown into confusion in September, 1561, by the intelligence that he was actually on his voyage. The instructions issued in consequence are amusing. See them in Haynes, i. 370.

[82] Dithmarsis nuper debellatis. Camd. i. 69.

[83] So I conclude from Peyto's letter to Throckmorton. "There "goeth a whisperyng that he is a sueter, and as the Italion saeth, "molto amartellato. If the fyrst be avowable, I doubt not of the "last; for it is a consequent of force respectyng the parties: as "youe, I dare say, will agree therein with me." Forbes, i. 443. May 9, 1560.

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The ear of Arran.

5°. While Charles, and Eric, and Adolphus, thus openly contended for the hand, or rather the crown, of Elizabeth, they were secretly opposed by a rival, whose pretensions were the more formidable, as they received the united support of the secretary and of the secretary's wife. This rival was the earl of Arran, whose zeal for the glory of God had been stimulated with the hope of an earthly reward in the marriage of the queen. During the war of the reformation he had displayed a courage and constancy, which left all his associates, with the exception perhaps of the lord James, far behind him: and, as soon as the peace was concluded, he presumed to apply for the expected recompense of his services. The earls of Morton and Glencairn, and Maitland, as the deputies of the Scottish parliament, solicited Elizabeth to marry the earl of Arran, whose father was presumptive heir to the Scottish crown. With her usual affectation she replied: that she was content with her maiden state, and that God had given her no inclination for marriage. Yet the sudden departure of the ambassadors deeply offended her pride. She complained that while kings and princes persevered for months and years in their suit, the Scots did not deign to urge their requests a second time.[84] As for Arran, whether it were owing to his disappointment or to some other cause, he fell into a

1560. Oct.

[84] See the letters to her from Maitland, Melville, and Arran, in Haynes, 359. 362, 363. Keith, 156. Haynes, 364.

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deep melancholy, which ended in the loss of his reason.

Her own subjects.

From foreign princes we may turn to those among the queen's subjects, who prompted by their hopes, or seduced by her smiles, flattered themselves with the expectation of winning her consent. The first of these was sir William Pickering. He could not boast of noble blood: nor had he exercised any higher charge than that of a mission to some of the petty princes of Germany. But the beauty of his person, his address, and his taste in the polite arts, attracted the notice of the young queen; and so lavish was she of her attention to this unexpected favourite, that for some weeks he was considered by the courtiers as her future consort.[85] But Pickering was soon forgotten: and if disparity of age could have been compensated by political experience and nobility of descent, the earl of Arundel had a better title to the royal preference. For some years that nobleman persevered in his suit, to the disquietude of his conscience, and the disparagement of his fortune. He was by persuasion a catholic, but, to please the queen, voted in favour of the reformation: he possessed considerable estates, but involved himself in debt by expensive presents, and by entertainments given to his sovereign and her court. When at length he could no longer serve her politics, or minister to her amusements, she

[85] Quadra, the Spanish ambassador, in a letter of May, 1559, says there were bets of £25 to £100 that Pickering would marry the queen. Simancas MSS.

CHAP. IV.

cast him off, and treated him not only with coldness, but occasionally with severity.[86]

Robert Dudley.

The man who made the deepest and most lasting impression on her heart, was the lord Robert Dudley, who had been attainted with his father the duke of Northumberland, for the attempt to remove Elizabeth as well as Mary from the succession. He had, however, been restored in blood, and frequently employed by the late queen: under the present he met with rapid preferment, was appointed master of the horse, and soon afterwards, to the surprise of the public, installed knight of the garter. The queen and Dudley became inseparable companions. Scandalous reports were whispered, and believed at home: in foreign courts it was openly said, that they lived together in adulterous intercourse.[87] Dudley had married the daughter and heiress of sir John Robesart; but

1559. Dec.

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[86] He was 47 years old at the queen's accession. From papers in Haynes, (364, 365) it appears, that he was the great rival of Dudley. In 1565, he travelled to the baths at Padua, for relief from the gout. On his return he went to court in the first coach, and presented to the queen the first pair of silk stockings that had been seen in England. Afterwards he fell into disgrace for his participation in the design of marrying the duke of Norfolk to the queen of Scots; and from that time till his death. (Feb, 28, 1580,) was almost always confined by order of the council to his house; not, as far as appears, for any real offence, but as a dangerous person, on account of his opposition to the designs of the ministers.

[87] "I assure you, sir, thies folks are brode mowthed, where I "speke of oon to much in favour as they esteene.....To tell you "what I conceyve; as I count the slawnder most false, so a young "princess canne not be to ware." Chaloner to Cecil, Dec. 6, 1559. Haynes, 212.

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that lady was not permitted to appear at court: her lord allotted for her residence a lonely mansion called Cumnor, in Berkshire, where she suddenly died by an accidental fall, if we credit Foster, the tenant of the house; but under such suspicious circumstances, as convinced the public that she had been murdered. The fate of this unfortunate woman was generally considered as a preparatory step to a marriage between the queen and her favourite.[88] To silence such reports, some judicial investigation, probably a coroner's inquest, was ordered; and the result was a declaration that the death of lady Dudley had been the effect of accident. Immediately the report of the marriage revived: it was believed that the queen had solemnly pledged her word to Dudley; and even a lady of the bed-chamber was named as witness to the contract.[89] Parry, the treasurer of the

[88] Lever, one of the preachers, wrote to Knollis and Cecil to make inquiry into the matter, because, "here in these partes seemeth unto "me to be a grevous and dangerous suspition and muttering of the "death of her that was the wife of my lord Robert Dudlie." Haynes 362. Throckmorton also wrote to Cecil, "The bruits be "so brim, and so maliciously reported herr, touching the marriage of "the lord Robert, and the death of his wife, that I know not where "to turn me, nor what countenance to bear." Hardwicke papers, i. 121. Quadra sent word to his court that lady Dudley was assassinated: and that as the queen gave out that she intended to marry in a short time, every one suspected that both she and Dudley were privy to the murder. Simancas MSS.

[89] Mary Stuart, detailing the report of lady Shrewsbury, writes to Elizabeth: qu'un, auquel elle disoit que vous aviez faict promesse de mariage devant une dame de vostre chambre, avoit cousché infinies foys auvecques vous avec toute la licence et privaulté, qui se peut user entre mari et femme. Murdin, 558.'

household, declared in its favour: and Cecil and his friends, though they condemned the measure, had not the courage to express their disapprobation. As a last resource, they trusted to the ingenuity of Throckmorton, who undertook the delicate and hazardous office. He did not, indeed, open his mind to his sovereign as he had done to Cecil; but he adopted the safer expedient of attributing his own sentiments to others, and then communicated them to Elizabeth, as a painful duty imposed on him by the charge which he held. With this view his secretary Jones came to England, and obtained permission to detail to the queen in private, the real or pretended remarks of the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors respecting her projected union with Dudley, and the infamous character of that nobleman. She listened to the messenger with patience, sometimes bursting into a laugh, sometimes covering her face with her hands. In conclusion, she told him that he had come on an unnecessary errand: that she was already acquainted with every thing that he had said; and that she had convincing proofs of the innocence of her favourite, in regard to the reported murder of his wife.[90] What impression this conference may have made on her mind, is

[90] See the letters of Jones in the Hardwicke papers. As to the death of lady Dudley, she said, "that he was then in the court, and "none of his at the attempt at his wife's house; and that it fell out "as should neither touch his honesty nor her honour." Ibid. 165.

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unknown: the marriage was postponed; but several years elapsed before the design was entirely abandoned.[91]

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[91] Six months after this conversation Cecil ordered Throckmorton to send over a French goldsmith, with aigrettes, chains, bracelets, &c. to be bought by the queen and her ladies: on which he observes: "what is meant in it, I know not: whether for that *which many* "*look for*, or the coming in of the Swede: but, as for me, I can see "no certain disposition in her majesty for any marriage; and any "other likelihood doth not the *principal* here find, which causeth "him to be perplexed." Hard. papers, i. 172. As late as April, 1566, Cecil wrote these reasons against the marriage with Dudley. 1. That the kingdom would gain nothing by it. 2. That the slanders respecting them will be thought true. 3. That he would seek to promote his friends. 4. That he is suspected of the death of his wife. 5. That he is in debt. 6. That he would prove unkind and jealous. Haynes, 444.

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ELIZABETH AIDS THE FRENCH HUGUENOTS—PROCEEDINGS OF PARLIAMENT — PENAL STATUTES AGAINST CATHOLICS — THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES — PACIFICATION IN FRANCE—RETREAT OF THE ENGLISH—ELIZABETH PROPOSES TO MARY STUART TO MARRY DUDLEY—SHE MARRIES DARNLEY—ELIZABETH FIXES ON THE ARCHDUKE CHARLES FOR HER HUSBAND—REJECTS HIM—ASSASSINATION OF RICCIO—BIRTH OF JAMES—PETITION TO ELIZABETH TO MARRY—HER UNINTELLIGIBLE ANSWER—ASSASSINATION OF DARNLEY—TRIAL AND ACQUITTAL OF BOTHWELL—MARRIAGE OF MARY WITH BOTHWELL.

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Civil and religious war in France.

In the preceding chapter I have noticed the commencement of that connexion, which, after the death of Henry II., subsisted between the English government and the Huguenots of France. The failure of the attempt to surprise the court at Amboise, had broken their projects; and the origin of the conspiracy was clearly traced to the king of Navarre and his brother the prince of Condé. These princes, by the unexpected death of Francis II., were saved from the punishment which probably awaited them: the queen mother obtained the regency; and the king of Navarre was appointed lieutenant-general of the kingdom, during the mino-

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rity of Charles IX. The two religious parties that divided the nation, now ranged themselves under their respective chiefs; the catholics under the constable Montmorenci, the duke of Guise, and the marshal St. André; the Calvinists under the prince of Condé, the admiral Coligni and Dandelot, both nephews of the constable. The former, after the conferences at Poissy, were joined by the king of Navarre, and the queen regent, with her son: the latter were urged to draw the sword against their opponents, by the English ambassador Throckmorton, to whose insidious counsels and promises of support, the duke of Guise attributed all the calamities which followed.[1] In the beginning of March, the flames of war burst out in almost every province of France. The lieutenant-general secured Paris for the king: the prince of Condé fortified Orleans for the insurgents. Each party displayed that ferocious spirit, that thirst for vengeance, which distinguishes civil and religious warfare: one deed of unjustifiable severity was requited by another; and the most inhuman atrocities were daily perpetrated by men, who profess to serve under

[1] Throckmorton informs us, in one of his letters, that the duke charged him to his face with being "the author of all the troubles;" and therefore required him "to help to bring them out of trouble, "as he had helped to bring them into it." In his answer the ambassador did not venture to deny the charge. Forbes, ii. 255. 257.

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the banners of religion, and for the honour of the Almighty [2]

Though the Calvinists were formidable by their union and enthusiasm, they did not form more than one hundredth part of the population of France.[3] Still the prince cherished strong hopes of success. He relied on the resources of his own courage, on the aid of the German protestants, and on the promises of Throckmorton. His envoys, the Vidame of Chartres, and De la Haye, stole over to England, visited Cecil in the darkness of the night, and solicited from the queen a reinforcement of ten thousand men, with a loan of three hundred thousand crowns.[4] When the parsimony of Elizabeth shrunk from such unexpected demands, Throckmorton was employed to stimulate the royal mind, with letters of the most alarming tendency; Cecil

Elizabeth aids the insurgents. 1562.

July 1.

[2] The French reformed writers generally ascribe the war to an affray, commonly called by them the massacre of Vassy, in which about sixty men were slain by the followers of the duke of Guise. But 1°. there is every reason to believe that this affray was accidental, and provoked by the religionists themselves. See La Popelin, l. vii. 283. and the declaration of the duke on his death-bed, preserved by Brantome, who was present both at Vassy and at his death. 2°. The affray happened on March 1, yet the Calvinists at Nismes began to arm on the 19th Feb. at the sound of the drum. They were in the field and defeated De Flassans on March 6th. See Menard, Historie de Nismes, iv. preuves, 6.

[3] Castelnau, iv. c. 2.

[4] There is in Forbes an enigmatical letter to the prince, in which, to disguise the real subject, he is designated as the nephew, the queen as the aunt, the war as an action at law, a body of one thousand men, a document to be exhibited in court, &c. Forbes, ii. 35.

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maintained to her that the ruin of Condé would infallibly be followed by her own deposition; and, what probably weighed more with the queen than the alarm of the ambassador, or the predictions of the secretary, her favourite Dudley aided their efforts by his prayers and advice.[5]

Sept. 20. A treaty was formally concluded between the queen of England, the ally of Charles, and the prince of Condé, a subject in arms against that sovereign. But if she engaged to advance the sum of one hundred thousand crowns, and to land an army of six thousand men on the coast of Normandy, she was at the same time, careful to require from him the surrender into her hands of the town of Havre de Grace, to be detained by her as a security, not only for the repayment of the money, but also for the restoration of Calais.[6]

The conferences between Cecil and the Vidame did not escape the notice of the French ambassador. With the treaty of Cateau in his hand, he demanded, in conformity with the

[5] The secretary attempted to proved his assertion in the following manner. If Condé was subdued, the duke of Guise would make an alliance with the king of Spain: the son of the latter would then marry the queen of Scots; the next step would be to proclaim Mary Stuart queen of England, with an understanding that Philip should have Ireland as an indemnity for the expense of sending an army to enforce her right. Lastly, the council of Trent would excommunicate all heretics, and give away their dominions; and of course the English catholics would join the invading army. Such were the visionary evils, with which he sought to alarm the mind of his sovereign. See Forbes, ii. 5.

[6] Ibid. 48.

thirteenth article, that the agents of the prince should be delivered up as traitors to their sovereign; and warned the queen that, according to the tenth article, she would forfeit, by the first act of hostility, all claim to the recovery of Calais at the expiration of the appointed term. But his remonstrances were disregarded. A fleet sailed to cruise off the coast of Normandy: successive flotillas carried six thousand men to the ports of Havre and Dieppe, which had been delivered to the queen; and the new earl of Warwick, the brother of the lord Robert Dudley, was appointed commander in chief of the English army in France.[7]

Her declaration.

Notwithstanding this hostile interference, Elizabeth affected to maintain the peace between the two crowns, and to feel a sincere affection for her good brother, the young king of France. To the natives of Normandy she declared by proclamation, that her only object was to preserve them, as she had lately preserved the people of Scotland, from the tyranny of the house of Guise:[8] and, when the French

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[7] Ibid. 58—80. Strype, i. 328.

[8] Forbes, ii. 79. To this and similar invectives against the house of Guise, the duke contented himself with the following reply—"Monsieur l'ambassadeur, it seemethe the queene your mistres, by "the publication of suche thinges as she doeth sette furthe in printe, "dothe bestowe her whole displeasure and indignation uppon me "and my house. I will alledge at thys tyme nothing for our deffence: "but desyre you to saye that, besydes it is an unusual manner for "princes thus to treate persons of qualitie and respect, by dif-

CHAP. V.

Oct. 25.

ambassador, in the name of his sovereign, required her to withdraw the army, she refused to believe that the requisition came from Charles himself: because it was, she said, the duty of a king to protect his subjects from oppression, and to accept with gratitude the aid, which might be offered him for that purpose.

Loss of Rouen.

Such miserable and flimsy sophisms could not cover the real object of the English cabinet; and the prince began to be considered, even by his own followers, as a traitor to his country. The duke of Guise had expelled the English from the last strong hold which they possessed in France; his opponent had recalled them into the realm, and given them two sea-ports in place of the one which they had lost. Fired with resentment, the nobility hastened to the royal army from every province of France; and to animate their exertions, Charles, the queen regent, and the king of Navarre, repaired to the camp before Rouen. Though the latter was mortally wounded in the trenches, the siege was still urged with vigour: the obstinacy of the governor refused every offer of capitulation: two hundred Eng-

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"famatorie libelles and writings, we have had the honour, by "marriage, to make alliance with the house of England, whereof "she is descended: so as she cannot dishonour nor discredit us, but "it must touche herselfe, consydiring we are descended out of her "house, and she from ours: by the tyme, peradventure, she shall "have passed more years in the worlde, she will more respect them "that have the honour to be allyed to her, than she doethe nowe." Forbes, ii. 258.

lishmen, who had been sent to his support, perished in the breach; and the city was taken by assault, and abandoned, during eight days, to the fury of a victorious soldiery. CHAP. V. Oct. 26.

The English ministers now began to fear the resentment of their own sovereign, and committed to her favourite Dudley the unwelcome task of acquainting her with this loss. For a while he suppressed the intelligence, and prepared her mind, by hinting at unfavourable rumours in the city, and representing the fall of Rouen as a probable consequence of her procrastination and parsimony. The queen did not suspect the artifice. When the truth was disclosed to her she took all the blame upon herself; and in the fervour of her repentance, dispatched reinforcements to the earl of Warwick, commissioned count Oldenburgh to levy twelve thousand men in Germany, and ordered public prayers during three days to implore the blessing of heaven upon her cause, and that of the gospel.[9] Nov. 3.

[9] Forbes, ii. 133. 165. 169—183. "I have somewhat prepared "the way with her," says Dudley in a letter to Cecil, (Oct. 30.) "touching this great loss at Roan, in this sort: saing, ther was a "bruyt com, that ther was lately a tyrrible assault geven to yt, in "such sort as yt was greatly dowted the loss thereof. I pityed "withall, yf yt shuld be so, the scant credytt and lyttle regard was "had at the begining, whan yt might hav safely bin defended. I "perceave by her mervelous remorce, that she had not dealt more "frankly for yt—repentyng the want of ayde very much, and wold "neds now send forthwith to help them; for as yet she knoweth not "the loss of yt." Forbes, ii. 155.

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Battle of Dreux.

The superior force of the royalists had compelled Condé to remain an unwilling spectator of the siege of Rouen: the arrival of six thousand mercenaries, raised in the protestant states of Germany, by the joint efforts of Dandelot and Wroth the English commissioner, enabled him to move from Orleans, and to menace Paris. The hopes of the English queen revived; though the promptitude with which he listened to the overtures of the French cabinet, might have taught her to question his fidelity. This negociation was however interrupted by the more intractable spirit of Coligni: and at Dreux, on the banks of
Dec. 19. the Dure, was fought a battle, more memorable for the fate of the adverse generals, than for the number of the slain. The constable, who commanded the royalists, and Condé, who commanded the insurgents, were reciprocally made prisoners. The duke of Guise served as a private gentleman; but he assumed the command, and by his skill and intrepidity, won the victory.
1563. Jan. 5. Jan. 29. The admiral retired, with his followers, to the intrenchments at Orleans; and by letters and messengers, conjured the queen of England to send him the supplies, to which he was entitled by treaty.[10]

Proceedings of parliament.

There was never, perhaps, a sovereign more reluctant to part with money than Elizabeth. Notwithstanding her engagements to the prince,

[10] Forbes, ii. 195—203. 209. 217. 226. 251.

her remorse for past delay, her resolutions of amendment, not a single crown had yet been advanced: at last the mutinous clamour of the German auxiliaries, the prayers of the admiral, and the representations of her advisers, wrung from her an order for payment;[11] but not till she had obtained from her parliament a grant of a subsidy upon land, and of two tenths and fifteenths on moveables. The argument on which this demand was founded, was the old tale of the inveterate enmity of the house of Guise. They had originally sought, it was said, to deprive the queen of her crown by annexing Scotland to France: they now proposed to effect the same object by annihilating the reformers abroad, and employing conspirators in England. The first plan the queen had defeated at her own expense: the second she trusted to defeat, if her faithful subjects would supply her with the means. The vote appears to have passed both houses without opposition.[12]

Feb. 15.

Feb. 19.

Conspiracy of the Poles.

The conspiracy, to which allusion has been made, was a wild and visionary scheme, devised by two brothers, the nephews of the late cardinal Pole. Considering themselves as lineal descendants of the duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV., they aspired to that rank in the state, to which they conceived themselves entitled by birth. For several weeks during the last

[11] Ibid. 247. 264. 272. 274. 297. 301. 322. 334.

[12] D'Ewes, 60. 84.

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autumn, Elizabeth had been confined to her chamber by the small-pox: many unfounded reports were circulated, and among the rest, a pretended prophecy, that she would not outlive the month of March. The Poles determined to quit the realm, with the intention, in the event of the queen's death, of landing a body of men in Wales, and proclaiming Mary Stuart her successor. They had formed a notion, that their promptitude, if it proved successful, might obtain from the gratitude of that princess, her hand for the one, and the title of Clarence for the other. Having communicated their plan to the French and Spanish ambassadors, they prepared for their departure; but their secret had been betrayed, and both were apprehended. For some months a veil of mystery was drawn over their project; and the people were alarmed with the report of a conspiracy against the life of the queen and the reformed worship. As soon as the commons had voted the requisite supply, the two brothers were arraigned, and condemned on their own confession. If there was any thing illegal, there was nothing formidable in their design: and the queen, after a short delay, granted them a pardon.[13]

1562 Oct.

1563. Feb. 26.

Penal statute against the catholics.

But this session of parliament, the second in Elizabeth's reign, is chiefly distinguished by an act highly penal against the professors of the

[13] Strype, i. 327. 333.

ancient faith. By the law, as it already stood, no heir holding of the crown, could sue out the livery of his lands, no individual could obtain preferment in the church, or accept office under the crown, or become member of either university, unless he had previously taken the oath of supremacy, which was deemed equivalent to a renunciation of the catholic faith. It was now proposed to extend to others the obligation of taking the oath, and to make the first refusal an offence punishable by præmunire, the second by death, as in cases of treason. The cause assigned for this additional severity, was the necessity of "restraining and correcting the mar-"vellous outrage and licentious boldness of the "fautors of the bishop of Rome." But it met with considerable opposition from many protestants, who questioned both its justice and its policy: its justice, because the offence was sufficiently punished by privation of office and property; and its policy, because where the number of non-conformists is great, extremity of punishment is more likely to provoke rebellion than to secure obedience. In the house of lords it was combated in a forcible and eloquent speech by the viscount Montague. Where, he asked, was the necessity for such a law? "It was known to "all men, that the catholics had created no dis-"turbance in the realm. They disputed not: "they preached not: they disobeyed not the "queen: they brought in no novelties in doc-

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"trine or religion." Then, could there be conceived a greater tyranny, than to compel a man, under the penalty of death, to swear to that as true, which in his conscience he believes to be doubtful? and that the right of the queen to ecclesiastical supremacy, must appear to many men doubtful, was evident from this, that though enforced by law in England, it was contradicted by the practice and opinion of every other nation, whether reformed or unreformed, in christendom. Let then their lordships beware how they placed men under the necessity of forswearing themselves, or of suffering death, lest, instead of submitting, they should arm in their own defence; and let not the house, in making laws, permit itself to be led by the passions and rapacity of those "who looked to wax mighty "and of power by the confiscation, spoil, and "ruin of the houses of noble and ancient men."[14]

March 3. After a long struggle, the bill was carried by the efforts of the ministers, but with several provisions, exempting the temporal peers from its operation, and protecting from forfeiture the heirs of the attainted. Still it extended the obligation of taking the oath to two classes of men not contemplated in the original act: 1°. to the members of the house of commons, to schoolmasters, private tutors, and attorneys; and 2°. to all persons who had ever held office in the

[14] Strype, i. 259—273.

church, or in any ecclesiastical court, during the present, or the three last reigns; or who should openly disapprove of the established worship, or should celebrate, or hear others celebrate, any private mass; that is, in one word, to the whole catholic population of the realm. As to the first class, it was enacted in their favour, that the oath could be tendered to them but once; and of course they were liable only to the lesser penalty of forfeiture and perpetual imprisonment; but to those of the second class it was to be tendered twice; and for the second refusal the offender was subjected to the punishment of death, as in cases of high treason.[15] It is manifest, that if this barbarous statute had been strictly carried into execution, the scaffolds in every part of the kingdom would have been drenched with the blood of the sufferers: but the queen was appalled at the prospect before her; she communicated her sentiments to the metropolitan; and that prelate, by a circular, but secret letter, admonished the bishops, who had been appointed to administer the oath, to proceed with lenity and caution; and never to make a second tender, till they had acquainted him with the circumstances of the case, and had received his answer. Thus, by the humanity or policy of Elizabeth, were the catholics allowed to breathe from their terrors: but the sword

[15] St. 5 Eliz. c. 1,

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was still suspended over their heads by a single hair, which she could break at her pleasure, whenever she might be instigated by the suggestions of their enemies, or provoked by the real or imputed misconduct of individuals of their communion.[16]

Proceedings of convocation. Jan. 12.

According to ancient custom the convocation had assembled at the same time with the parliament. The matters submitted to its deliberations were of the highest importance to the newly established church; an adequate provision for the lower order of the clergy, a new code of ecclesiastical discipline, and the promulgation of a national creed, the future standard of English orthodoxy. The two first were opposed and prevented by the avarice and prejudices of the courtiers, who sought rather to lessen than to increase the wealth and authority of the churchmen; to the third, as it interfered neither with their interests nor their pleasures, no objection was offered. The doctrines formerly published by the authority of Edward VI. furnished the groundwork of the new creed: several omissions and amendments were made: and the thirty-nine articles, as they now exist, received the subcriptions of the two houses of convocation.[17] This important work was accomplished in a few days, and, as far as appears, without any considerable debate; but the sub-

1562. Jan. 22.

Jan. 29.

[16] Strype's Parker, 125, 126.

[17] Wilkins, Con. iv. 232. Strype, i. 280. 290. See note (N).

sequent proceedings supply a memorable instance of the inconsistency, into which men are frequently betrayed by change of situation. None of the members could have forgotten the persecution of the last reign: many had then suffered imprisonment or exile for their dissent from the established church. Yet now, as if they had succeeded to the infallibility which they condemned, they refused to others that liberty of religious choice which they had arrogated to themselves. Instead of considering the thirty-nine articles as merely the distinguishing doctrines of the church recently established by law, they laboured to force them upon the consciences of others. To question their truth was deemed a crime: and had their efforts proved successful, every dissenter from the new creed would have been subject to the penalties of heresy.[18] But the design was opposed and defeated by the

[18] It was proposed, that "whosoever should preach, declare, "write or speak any thing in derogation, depraving, or despising "the said book (containing the articles) or any doctrine therein "contained, and be thereof lawfully convicted before any ordinary, "he should be ordered as in case of heresy, or else should forfeit "100 marks for the first offence, 400 for the second, and all his "goods and chattels, with perpetual imprisonment, for the third." Strype, 282. This was adopted by the lower house, and transmitted to the higher, but with a blank for the punishment, to be afterwards filled up. Another clause was subsequently suggested, that "if any person whatsoever should deny directly or indirectly, "publicly or privately, by writing or speaking, any article of doc-"trine contained in the book, and be thereof lawfully convicted "before the ordinary, and obstinately stand in the same, he should "be—." Wilkins, iv. 241. Stype, 302.

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council. Such a law was thought unnecessary, as far as regarded the catholics, since they could at any moment be brought to the scaffold, under the act of supremacy; and it was inexpedient with respect to the disciples of the Genevan divines, whom the queen sought to allure by indulgence, rather than to exasperate by severity.

Pacification of parties in France.

The hope of recovering Calais was one of the chief baits, by which the queen had been drawn into the war between the French huguenots and their sovereign. Her ministers had predicted the restoration of that important place: the prince of Condé had promised to support her demand with his whole power; and the admiral, when he received the subsidy, confirmed the engagement made by the prince.[19] Within a few weeks it was seen how little reliance could be placed upon men, who fought only for their own emolument. While the admiral gave the plunder of Normandy to his German auxiliaries, the royalists formed the siege of Orleans, the great bulwark of their opponents. Its fall was confidently anticipated, when Poltrot, a deserter from the huguenot army, and in the pay of the

Feb. 18.

admiral, assassinated the duke of Guise. The death of that nobleman was followed by a sudden and unexpected revolution. Condé aspired to the high station in the government, to which he was intituled as first prince of the blood: and

[19] Forbes, li. 394. Castelnau, 250.

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the catholics feared that the English, with the aid of Coligni, might make important conquests in Normandy. The leaders on both sides, anxious for an accommodation, met, were reconciled, and subscribed a treaty of peace, by which the French religionists promised their services to the king, as true and loyal subjects, and obtained in return an amnesty for the past, and the public exercise of their religion for the future, in one town of every bailiwick in the kingdom.[20] March 6.

Surrender of Havre.

Elizabeth received the intelligence of this pacification with surprise and anger. In her public declarations, she had hitherto professed to hold the town of Havre in trust for the king of France: but now, when he required her to withdraw her forces, she replied that she would continue to hold it, as a security for the restoration of Calais.[21] The French government assured her of their intention to surrender the place at the expiration of the appointed term, and of their willingness to ratify a second time the treaty of Cateau; they would even give her additional hostages, and place in her hands the bonds of the French king, and of the princes of the blood.[22] But the queen continued inexorable, till she saw that both parties, the huguenots as well as the catholics, had determined to unite and expel the English troops from the soil of April 30. May 7. June 26.

[20] Forbes, 339. 350—359. Castelnau, 233. 240—245.
[21] Forbes, 405. 409. [22] Ibid. 411. 435. 442.

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France. She then receded from her former pretensions, and commissioned her ambassadors to present a new project on her part. But it
July 18. was too late. The siege of Havre had been formed: the ambassadors could obtain no audience; and the ministers refused to receive their proposals. In a few days two breaches
July 25. were made in the walls: the garrison, reduced by the ravages of a most virulent disease, was unable to support an assault; and the earl of Warwick surrendered Havre to its rightful
July 28. sovereign, on condition that he might return with his forces to England.[23]

Disgraceful peace.

The queen was now doomed to pay the penalty of her bad faith. Throckmorton and Smith proceeded towards the French court to solicit peace. Smith, the new ambassador, was arrested and conveyed to the Castle of Melun, as a security for De Foix, the French envoy, who had been placed under restraint in England: Throckmorton, who, though particularly obnoxious to the French court, as the instigator of the late civil war, had ventured to come without a passport, was confined a close prisoner in the castle of St. Germain. Elizabeth suppressed her
Oct. 26. resentment, and renewed the powers of her agents. But the French ministers, with con-
1564. April 1. temptuous indifference, allowed five months to elapse, before they would open a negociation.

[23] Forbes, 466—474. 490. 496. Castelnau, 255. Strype, i. 329.

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With respect to Calais both parties were silent. It was plain from the treaty of Cateau that Elizabeth had forfeited her claim to the recovery of the place, by landing a hostile army in France.[24] But she still had in her power the French hostages, and their bonds for the sum of 500,000 crowns. After a long discussion it was agreed that the hostages should be exchanged for Throckmorton (Smith was already liberated); and that the queen should be content to receive payment of one fourth of her original demand.

It was with pain that the haughty mind of Elizabeth submitted to conditions so humiliating and so contrary to her previous expectations. In her interview with Castelnau she had the weakness to betray her feelings, to the amusement of that ambassador and of his court. She declared at first, that she would never accept of such a peace, but rather perpetuate the war: then she would make her commissioners pay with their heads for their presumption in exceeding their powers: afterwards she would approve the treaty; but through no other motive than respect and attachment to her dear brother and sister, the king of France, and the queen mother. In conclusion, she gave her ratification and her oath: Charles received from her the order of the garter; and in return, that of St.

[24] Rymer, xv. 509.

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Michael was conferred by him on the duke of Norfolk, and on Dudley, the royal favourite.[25]

Subjects of dissension between Elizabeth and Mary.

Here we may return to the transactions between the English and Scottish queens. When Mary took possession of her paternal throne, she was aware that from France, distracted as it was by civil and religious dissension, she could derive no support: and therefore had determined, with the advice of her uncles, to subdue by conciliation, if it were possible, the hostility of her former opponents. The lord James, her bastard brother, and Maitland, the apostate secretary, both high in the confidence of the congregationists, were appointed her principal ministers;[26] the friendship of Elizabeth was sought by compliments and professions of attachment; and an epistolary correspondence was established between the two queens; between their respective minions, as they were called, the lord Robert Dudley, and the lord James Stuart; and between the English and Scottish secretaries, Cecil and Maitland. It was a distinguishing trait in the character of Mary

[25] Rymer, xv. 640—648. Castelnau, 262. 272. 276.

[26] It has been said that the lord James was always ready to betray the secrets of his sister to Elizabeth: and there is too much reason to believe the charge, from many passages in the letters of Randolph, particularly in that of the 19th of June, 1563. Keith, 241. The same has also been objected against Maitland. I observe that in his correspondence with Cecil, he appears anxious to obtain the favour of the English queen, but he also advocates the cause of his sovereign with the earnestness and ability of a faithful servant.

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that she speedily forgot every injury. If we believe those who were not likely to be deceived, her friendship for Elizabeth, was, or soon became sincere;[27] while the English queen found it a difficult task to divest herself of her jealousies and prejudices against one, whom she still regarded as a competitor for her crown. On this account she continued to insist that Mary should ratify the treaty of Leith, particularly that article which not only recognised the right of Elizabeth, but also precluded the Scottish queen from assuming the arms or title of England. To the first of these points, Mary offered no objection: but she contended, that to assent to the second would be a virtual renunciation of her birthright, and an allowance of the claim made to the succession by the house of Suffolk.[28] Cecil, to compromise the difference,

1561. Oct. 1.

1562. Jan. 5.

[27] Randolph feared, that "Mary would never come to God, unless "the queen's majestie should draw her." (Keith, 207.) Yet he repeatedly asserts, that he himself, the lord James, and Maitland, believed in the sincerity of her professions of friendship for Elizabeth. Keith, 195, 196. 203. 206. 209.

[28] "How prejudicial that treaty is to such title and interest as by "birth and natural descent of your own lineage may fall to us, by "the very inspection of the treaty itself you may easily perceive, "and how slenderly a matter of so great consequence is wrapped "up in obscure terms. We know how near we are descended of "the blood of England, and what devices have been attempted to "make us as it were a stranger from it. We trust, being so near "your cousin, you would be loth we should receive so manifest an "injury, as utterly to be debarred from that title, which in possi- "bility may fall to us. We will deal frankly with you, and wish "you to deal frankly with us. We will have, at this present, no

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had suggested that Mary on her part should acknowledge the right to the English crown to be vested in Elizabeth and the lawful heirs of her body; and, that Elizabeth should declare on the other, that failing her own issue, the succession belonged of right to the queen of Scots.[29] With this arrangement the latter was satisfied, but the consent of Elizabeth could not be obtained; and a new expedient was devised, a personal conference between the two queens in some of the northern counties. Mary adopted it with pleasure: the time and place were determined, and a passport was signed for the queen

August.

July 8.

"judge of the equity of our demand but yourself." Haynes, 377. Keith, 213.

[29] It has been said, that this proposal originated in a traitorous conspiracy between Cecil and Maitland, for the purpose of interrupting the incipient friendship between the two queens. (Compare Keith, 186. with Mr. Chalmers, i. 51.) The fact is, the project had been suggested to Elizabeth before Mary's return from France. On the 14th of July, Cecil wrote to Throckmorton: "there hath been "a matter secretly thought of, which I dare communicate to you "although I mean never to be an author thereof." He then mentions it, and adds, "the queen's majesty knoweth of it, and so I "will end." Hardwicke papers, i. 174. When Maitland came to England, Cecil communicated it to him, by whom it was approved, Haynes, 379. Maitland then proposed it to Elizabeth, who answered "that the like was never demanded of any prince, to be declared "his heir apparent in his own time." He replied, "that the "objection would appear reasonable, if the succession had remained "untouched according to law; but, whereas, by a limitation, men "had gone about to prevent the providence of God, and shift one "into the place due to another, then could the party offended seek "no less than the reformation thereof." Ibid. 373. Hence I see no ground for the charge of conspiracy.

of Scots and her retinue, amounting to one thousand horse. But when the English queen considered the youth, the beauty, the accomplishments of her Scottish sister, she declined the interview; perhaps through jealousy of her superior charms, perhaps through apprehension of the influence, which her presence might have on her partisans in England.[30] July 15.

In the winter, Maitland, the secretary, waited on Elizabeth, ostensibly to recommend a peace between her and Charles IX., in reality to watch the proceedings of the English parliament. In the commons an address had been voted, requesting the queen to marry, that she might have issue to inherit the crown; and to limit the succession, that the next heir might be known, if she were to die without children to survive her. At the same time she was reminded of the attempts of foreign powers to set up a competitor against herself, and of the danger to the reformed faith, if a catholic should succeed. These remarks were evidently pointed against Mary Stuart: but the interests of that princess were protected, if not by the justice, at least by the caprice of Elizabeth, who resented

Proceedings of the English parliament. 1563. Jan. 26.

[30] Haynes, 386. 388—393. Keith, 217—221. Cecil urged, among other objections against the interview, the following, which will surprise the reader: that the rains had made the roads impassable: that the queen's houses on the way from London to York were out of repair: and, that provision of wine, fowl, and poultry, could not be made in so short a space as from the 20th of June to the end of August. Keith, App. 158.

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the interference of the commons in a concern which she deemed exclusively her own. It was with reluctance that she consented to receive the petition; when they reminded her of an answer, she reprimanded them for their impatience; and at the close of the session she replied, in quaint and unsatisfactory language: "because I will discharge some restless heads, "in whose brains the nedeless hammers beat "with vain judgment, that I should dislike this "their petition; I say, that of the matter, some "thereof I like and allow very well: as to the "circumstances, if any be, I mean upon further "advice, further to answer."[31]

April 10.

Attempt to prevent the marriage of Mary.

In a few months the jealousy of Elizabeth was called into action by a communication from Mary, stating that she had received a proposal of marriage from the archduke Charles. To prevent this match, the ingenuity of Cecil devised two plans, which were instantly carried into effect. By the first, Elizabeth was brought forward as a rival to Mary; nor did her vanity entertain a doubt that the archduke would prefer her charms and her crown to those of her Scottish sister. But from whom was the proposal to originate? It did not seem consistent with female delicacy that the queen should be the first to woo; and it could not be expected that Charles, who had already been rejected,

[31] Nugæ Antiquæ, i. 83. D'Ewes, 81.

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should expose himself to a second refusal. Cecil wrote to Mundt, one of his pensionaries in Germany; Mundt applied to the duke of Wirtemberg; and that prince, as of himself, solicited the emperor to renew the treaty between his son and the English queen. But Ferdinand replied, that he had once been duped by the selfish and insincere policy of Elizabeth; and that he would not expose himself to similar treatment a second time.[32]

Aug. 25. Oct. 13. Oct. 17. Dec.

The other plan was to induce Mary by threats and promises to refuse the archduke. For this purpose Randolph returned to Scotland, with instructions to read to her a long lecture on the choice of a husband. Elizabeth, he told her, preferred a single life; but was not displeased that her younger sister should entertain thoughts of marriage. But she should bear in mind, that her destined husband ought to have three recommendations; he should be one whom she could love; one whom her subjects could approve; and one who was likely to preserve and augment the friendship existing between the two crowns. But was Charles of Austria such a person? The very fact, that he had been proposed by the cardinal of Lorrain, shewed that he was thought the enemy of England. Let Mary recollect that the success of her claim to the succession depended on the choice of her husband. If she forfeited it, she must blame only herself.[33]

1563. Aug. 20.

[32] Haynes, 405. 407, 408. [33] Keith, 242.

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Elizabeth offers her Dudley. Nov. 17.

The ambiguity of this discourse induced the Scottish queen to ask, whom her sister would recommend, and how she would favour her claim. It was replied, that she ought to marry a British nobleman, and then her claim should receive every support which justice might allow.

1564. Feb. 29.

But who was this nobleman? The important secret was first revealed to the lord James, lately created earl of Murray, and to Maitland, who learned with surprise that the husband, destined for their sovereign, was the lord Robert Dudley, the minion of Elizabeth. By degrees it became public; and at last was officially communicated

March 30.

to Mary. She replied that it was beneath her dignity to marry a mere subject: and hinted a suspicion that Elizabeth could never bear a separation from her favourite.[34]

This offer soon became the subject of public conversation. By Dudley himself it was attributed to the policy of Cecil, who, jealous of his superior influence, wished to remove him from the English court. But the general impression was, that Elizabeth looked for a refusal. He was too necessary for her comfort or her pleasures, to allow her to resign him to another woman.[35] It was even suspected that she in-

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[34] Keith, 245—252.

[35] Melville, 51. "Mary asked me, whether I thought that the "queen meant truly towards her, inwardly in her heart as she ap- "peared to do outwardly in her speech. I answered freely, that in "my judgment, there was neither plain dealing nor upright mean-

tended to marry him herself. If he were judged fit to be the husband of one queen, he was equally fit to be the husband of the other.[36]

She prefers Darnley.

Mary, by the advice of her council, had condescended in part to the pleasure of her English sister. She had refused every foreign suitor, the infant of Spain, the archduke of Austria, the prince of Condé, and the dukes of Ferrara, Anjou, Orleans, and Nemours. But was she then to marry the lord Dudley? To him she felt the strongest repugnance: and was strengthened in her aversion by the suggestions of Murray, who is represented as aspiring to the succession himself, and therefore interested in keeping his sister unmarried.[37] In a short time the lord Darnley was set up as a rival to Dudley. During the debate on the succession in the English parliament, all parties had agreed, that the next heir was to be sought among the descendants either of Margaret the elder, or of Mary the younger, sister of Henry VIII. The Scottish queen was undoubtedly the rightful representative of Margaret; but there were some who contended for her exclusion in favour of the countess of Lennox, the daughter of that prin-

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" ing. This appeared to me, by her offering unto her, with great " appearing earnestness, my lord of Leicester, whom I knew, at that " time, *she could not want*." Ibid. 53.

[36] Randolph's letter in Keith, 260.

[37] Murray had attempted to obtain an entail of the crown on himself and others of the name of Stuart. Goodall, i. 199. ii. 358. Chalmers, ii. 435. Camden, i. 132.

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cess by her second husband, the earl of Angus. Darnley was the eldest son of the countess: and it was represented to Mary that a marriage with him could not be degrading, since he was sprung by the father from the kings of Scotland, by the mother from those of England: that it would satisfy the demands of Elizabeth, since he had been born in her dominions, and was heir to the lands which his father held of the English crown: and that it would strengthen her claim to the succession, since all the rights of the descendants of Margaret, in both lines, would centre in her and her husband.[38] The idea had been first suggested by the countess of Lennox. Mary appeared to listen to it with a willing ear:

April 14. and the intelligence was immediately conveyed to Elizabeth.[39]

If the conduct of the English queen had been enigmatical before, it became from this

July 5. period still more inexplicable. She wrote to Mary not to admit the earl of Lennox into her

Sept. 13 dominions, then gave him both a licence to proceed to Scotland, and a letter of recommendation to the queen; and afterwards complained

Oct. 20. of the gracious reception which he had experienced in consequence of her own request. In like manner, she urged again the projected

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[38] See note (O).

[39] "I understand she will cast anchor between Dover and Barwick, "though not perchance in that parte we wish for." Randolph apud Keith, 252.

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marriage with Dudley, and created him earl of Leicester, that he might appear more worthy of a royal consort; but then she opposed a new obstacle to his success, by allowing Darnley, who was considered as his rival, to proceed to the Scottish court, on a pretended visit to his father. Mary received her cousin with kindness, commended the elegance of his person, and assigned him a residence in the palace.[40]

Sept. 29. 1565. Feb. 3.

Acquaints Elizabeth with her intention.

The charms of Mary were sufficient, without the attractions of royalty, to captivate the young Darnley: but he had come prepared to woo, and after a decent interval, made to the queen a proposal of marriage. She checked his presumption, and refused the ring which he offered:[41] but his pretensions were aided by the intemperance of Elizabeth, who informed her Scottish sister, that if she expected to have any inquiry made into her claim to the succession, she must, without delay, accept the earl of Leicester, or solemnly engage to remain a widow.[42] Mary burst into tears: the real object, she said, of so much mystery and so many artifices was at length divulged: it had been determined that she should neither succeed to

March 5.

[40] Randolph apud Keith, 253. 255. 259. Melville (p. 47.) thus describes the creation of the earl of Leicester. "This was done at "Westminster with great solemnity, the queen herself helping to put "on his ceremonial, he sitting on his knees before her with a great "gravity. But she could not refrain from putting her hand in his "neck, smilingly tickling him, the French ambassador and I standing by." [41] Ibid. 56. [42] Keith, 270. App. 158.

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the English crown herself, nor have issue to perpetuate her right. She had, however, too much spirit to submit to the dictates of Elizabeth. From that moment, she beheld the young Darnley with a more favourable eye: the advice of her best friends concurred with her inclinations: and the approbation of the king and queen regent of France, encouraged her to inform Elizabeth that she had resolved to make
April 18. Darnley the partner of her bed, and of her throne.[43]

Who urges the Scots to oppose the match. May 1.

On the receipt of this intelligence, council after council was held at the English court. The marriage was declared to threaten the most serious danger to the queen and the nation; the countess of Lennox was ordered to confine herself to her chamber; her husband and son were
May 15. recalled to England, under the penalty of forfeiture: and, to depress the hopes of the cathoMay 27. lics, it was resolved to treat them with additional severity, and to throw a still greater share of power into the hands of the protestants. A new envoy, the wily and unprincipled Throckmorton, hastened to the Scottish court, where he argued, promised, and threatened, till, in despair of subduing the resolution of Mary, he directed his remonstrances to the disaffected

[43] Melville, 56. Castelnau brought the approbation of the king and queen of France. Il ne faut pas demander, says he, si je fus bien receu de ces deux amans, puis que j'avois dequoi contenter leurs affections. Castlenau, 295.

lords, and stimulated them to rebellion with the hope of assistance from England.[44]

The raid of Beith.

At the head of these was the earl of Murray, who had long governed the realm under his sister, and whose loyalty she had begun to suspect. His associates were the duke of Chastelherault, who feared that the marriage of the queen with Darnley would give the ascendency to the rival house of Lennox; the earl of Argyle, who had been compelled to restore to the father of Darnley the forfeited property of the family; and many of the lords who had fought under the same standard during the war of the reformation.[45] To allure the zealots to the party, Murray declared that "the profession of the "evangel" was in danger, and retired from the court under pretence that his conscience would not suffer him to witness the idolatrous worship in the royal chapel. A plan was formed to surprise Mary, Lennox, and Darnley, to confine

[44] Keith, 274. App. 159, 160. Cecil has told us what the dangers were. He says that all the kindred of Mary and Darnley, and all the catholics, thought Mary's right better than that of Elizabeth: and that the marriage would induce them to raise rebellion in the kingdom in favour of it. Ibid. 97. Robertson, i. App. x. It is, however, difficult to see how this could follow from the marriage of Darnley, who had nothing of his own, but depended entirely upon his wife.

[45] Mar. 15. "The duk, erle Murray, Argile, are confederat in a "common quarrel ageynst all, excepting God and their soverayn.— "May 3. The queen hateth the duk, Argile, Murray, allegyn ageynst "hym, that he goeth about to set the crown upon his own head." Cecil's diary, Murdin, 758.

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the queen in Lochlevin, to murder the father and son, to deliver them prisoners to the governor of Berwick, and to place the earl of Murray at the head of the new government. The duke lay at Kinneil, Murray at Lochlevin, Argyle at Castle Campbell, and the lord Rothes at the Parret-wall, with an understanding that all

July 3. should meet at noon at the kirk of Beith, to intercept the queen on the road from Perth to Callendar. But Mary received a hint of the conspiracy, and setting out at an early hour reached Callendar by ten in the morning. The conspirators consoled their disappointment for the loss of their prey, by signing a covenant at Stirling, in which they bound themselves to God and each other for the performance of their engagements; and most solemnly declared that they had no other object than to shew humble reverence to the Almighty, and faithful obedi-

July 18. ence to their sovereign lady. The next day they dispatched a messenger to Elizabeth, "under God the protectrix especial of the pro-"fessors of the religion," to remind her of her promise, and to solicit speedy and effectual assistance.[46]

[46] The existence of this plot is asserted by thirty-five noblemen, including Argyle himself, in 1568 (Goodall, ii. 358), and by Melville, a contemporary (Memoirs, 56); it is disputed by Laing (Dissertation, 6). That the three lords rose in arms against their sovereign, cannot be denied: whether they attempted to make her prisoner or not at the church of Beith, is of little consequence. The following facts are certain from the dispatches of Randolph: June 24, in answer to an

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Mary is married.

Mary, on her arrival in Edinburgh, to expose the pretences of the conspirators, published circular letters, in which she declared that as she never had, so she never would, molest any man for matters of concience, and called on all her faithful subjects for aid against the rebellious lords. The numbers that crowded to her standard, taught her to despise the efforts of Murray and his associates. Darnley had already been created earl of Ross. She now conferred on him the title of duke of Albany, ordered the

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application to Elizabeth, he replied that the queen would support the lords, if their object were to preserve religion, their duty to their prince, and the amity between England and Scotland. They did not acquaint him with the particulars of their plan: but Murray said, he feared it would be necessary to assemble and do their duty to the queen, but at the same time provide for the safety of the state; and some one asked, whether, if Lennox and his son were delivered as prisoners at Berwick, the governor would receive them. Randolph replied in the affirmative. (Keith, 289, 290.) It was already known, that Mary had promised to assist at the baptism of lord Livingston's son, on the 2d of July. On the 1st she received information that the three lords had posted themselves in three places near the road to intercept her. Of its truth she was convinced both then and afterwards. She passed, however, in safety, some hours before she was expected. The lords assembled, and immediately sent a petition to Elizabeth for money: they did not want men, but a sum of 3000*l.* (Keith, 287. 291. 299.) Randolph sent the petition, July 4th; on the 6th he wrote, that they had resolved to rise; and on the 16th, Mary informed her subjects, that they were in arms. (Keith, 294. 294.) Murray spread a report, that Darnley intended to murder him. Mary not only declared that it was false, but offered him a safe conduct, signed by the council, to come with as many followers as he chose, and investigate the affair. He refused. Keith, App. 108, 109.

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July 29. banns to be published, and was married to him in the chapel of Holyrood house. By a previous proclamation she had commanded that he should be styled king during the marriage, and that all writs should run in the joint names of Henry and Mary, king and queen of Scotland.[47]

She drives the insurgents out of the realm. This decisive step disconcerted the English ministers. Unable to discover any pretext for hostilities, they determined to threaten and intimidate. A large sum of money was sent to Murray; a reinforcement of two thousand men reached Berwick: the earls of Shrewsbury and Bedford were commissioned to act as the queen's lieutenants in the northern counties: and the latter obtained permission to make, but at his own risk, an incursion into Scotland. At the

Aug. 18. same time Tamworth, a new envoy, was dispatched to Mary, furnished with complaints, remonstrances, and threats. But that princess assumed a more spirited tone: she requested her good sister to be contented with the government of England, and to leave Scotland to the care of its own sovereign;[48] she admonished

[47] Keith, 306. The ceremony of the marriage is in a letter from Randolph, Robertson, i. App. xi. Ellis, ii. 201.

[48] See Tamworth's paper and the answer to it in Keith, App. 99—104. Mary, however, proposed, that she and her husband should bind themselves never to do any thing to the prejudice of the title of Elizabeth and her lawful issue: never to correspond for that purpose with any English subjects, nor afford protection in Scotland, to any who should intermeddle with the succession; never to contract any alliance to the hurt or displeasure of the English queen; and never (should they afterwards ascend the English throne)

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Randolph that if he continued to intrigue with her subjects, she would put him under arrest; she confined Tamworth in the castle of Dunbar, because he had presumed to traverse her dominions without a passport. At the head of eighteen thousand men, she drove the associated lords from Dumfries;[49] and compelled them to seek an asylum with the earl of Bedford, who advanced to receive them at Carlisle. Murray hastened to London: at first Elizabeth refused so see him: afterwards he was admitted with his companions in presence of the French and Spanish ambassadors, when, falling on his knees, he acknowledged that the queen was innocent of the conspiracy, and had never advised them to disobey their sovereign lady. "Now," she replied, "have ye spoken truth. Get from "my presence, traitors as ye are." By this meanness he obtained from her a small pittance for his support at Berwick, though she obliged

Aug. 19.

Oct. 9.

make alteration in the liberties of the kingdom, or the religion established by law; and, in return, she demanded, that Elizabeth should, in the best and most lawful manner, declare, that (failing herself and her lawful issue) Mary was next heir; and, failing Mary, her mother-in-law, the countess of Lennox. Ibid. 104, 105.

[49] Randolph expected a very different result. He had informed the secretary before the marriage, that Darnley's life would be taken; on the 4th of September, that several "were appointed to "set upon him, and either kill him or die themselves. If her "majesty will help them, they doubt not but one country will re-"ceive both queens." Keith, 282. 287. Cotton MSS. Cal. x. fol. 335.

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him to represent it has furnished by the charity of his English friends.[50]

Elizabeth determines to marry.

But while the queen thus opposed every obstacle in her power to the marriage of Mary Stuart, she had been actively employed in seeking a husband for herself. From whatever cause her former repugnance had sprung, it was at length subdued by the clamour of the nation, the remonstrances of her counsellors, and her apprehension of additional danger from the claim of the Scottish queen, if that princess should have issue, while she herself remained childless. But she found it more easy to determine to marry than to fix on the choice of a husband. Had she consulted her affection only, she would undoubtedly have given her hand to Leicester: but she had to contend with the disapprobation of her most trusty advisers, who appealed, and ultimately with success, to her pride, her suspicions, and her parsimony. Cecil had discovered six forcible objections to her marriage with the

[50] Melville, 57. Notwithstanding the farce enacted before the two ambassadors, there are several letters extant, which prove, beyond contradiction, that Elizabeth was an accomplice in this conspiracy. I will cite only one from Murray to Cecil, of Oct. 14. "As for me and the remainder here, I doubt not but you "understand sufficiently, that neither they nor I enterprised this "action without forfeit of our sovereign's indignation, but being "moved thereto by the queen your sovereign and council's hand-"writing, directed to us thereupon; which being followed, all "those extremities followed, as were sufficiently foreseen." Apud Chalmers, ii. 330.

favourite: he could not bring with him riches, nor power, nor estimation: he was deeply involved in debt: he had a multitude of needy and rapacious dependants, who would engross all the offices and favours of the crown: his reputation had been tarnished by the sudden and tragical death of his former wife: his passions were so violent and mutable, he was sometimes so jealous, sometimes so indifferent, that he would render the queen unhappy: and their union would give the strongest confirmation to the scandalous reports of their amours, which had been so long and so confidently circulated.[51]

Hesitates about the choice of a husband.

But the secretary was too wily a courtier to commit himself by an avowed opposition; that office was reserved for the earl of Sussex, who could rely on the co-operation of the duke of Norfolk and the whole house of Howard, of the lord Hunsdon the queen's cousin, and of sir Thomas Heneage, vice-chamberlain, and a rising favourite. By their persuasions Elizabeth was brought to think seriously of a foreign husband; and occasionally, at least, to dispute the ascendency which Leicester assumed over her. She gave him hints of her displeasure in enigmatic notes: he even thought proper to absent himself from court, whether it were in a fit of jealousy, or at the royal command.[52] But their

[51] Haynes, 444.

[52] Compare Murdin, 760, with Strype, 475, and Camden, 118. While Leicester was absent, it was reported, that some other favourite

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quarrels ended, as the quarrels of lovers generally end: and by each reconciliation his influence over her heart was confirmed. Publicly he affected to advocate the project of a foreign alliance: but privately he threw every obstacle in its way; and if he did not ultimately obtain the queen for himself, he succeeded at least in extinguishing the hopes of every other suitor, whether native or foreigner.

Prefers the archduke Charles.

The queen mother of France had offered to Elizabeth her son the reigning king, though he was only in his fourteenth year. The proposal excited in her counsellors the most serious apprehensions: but the queen, though she entertained it for political purposes, after some delay returned a refusal on the ground of disparity of age. The only foreign prince, towards whom she looked with pleasure, was her former suitor the archduke Charles. The objections of Ferdinand had at last been removed by the perseverance of the duke of Wirtemberg: but the death of that emperor interrupted the negociation; and Elizabeth, attributing the indifference which he had manifested, to the report of her familiarity with Leicester, ordered Cecil to write a letter to Mundt, in which, after a high

1564. Sept. 8.

supplied his place. "Upon these rumours," says Cecil, "I affirm "that the queen may be by malicious tongues not well reported: but, "in truth, she herself is blameless, and hath no spot of evil intent. "Marry, there may lack, especially in so busy a world, circumspection "to avoid all occasions." Strype, 481.

encomium on the character of the favourite, he was made to express his belief, that the queen loved him on account of his admirable qualifications, as a sister loves a brother, and that in their private meetings nothing was admitted inconsistent with female modesty and decorum.[53] Armed with a copy of this letter the duke renewed his solicitations: but Maximilian, who had succeeded his father, displayed no eagerness for the marriage, and two years were suffered to elapse between the first overture from Cecil, and the arrival of Swetkowytz, the imperial ambassador. He came ostensibly to restore the insignia of the garter worn by Ferdinand; in effect to discover the real disposition of the queen towards the archduke Charles. Her indecision immediately revived: one day she listened to Leicester, the next to Sussex: and these two noblemen, apprehending the resentment of each other, went themselves constantly armed, and followed by men in arms.[54] At last the ambassador was told that the articles of the marriage between Philip and Mary must be taken as the basis of any future treaty: but

1565. June 2.

June 4.

Aug. 6.

[53] The history of this extraordinary letter seems to prove, that Cecil was not convinced of the truth of the assertions which he was compelled to make. He would not allow it to remain in the possession of Mundt, but, after he had submitted it to the inspection of the queen, added a postscript, in which he required Mundt to send it back to him. This was done, and when he received it back, he added to it a note, shewing that he had written it by the express command of Elizabeth. Haynes, 420.

[54] Camden, 118. Murdin, 760.

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that, as Elizabeth had made a vow never to choose a husband whom she had not previously seen, it was indispensably requisite that Charles should pay a visit to the English court.[55] To this, as long as the result was doubtful, the pride of the emperor would not submit: and the queen, by her mutability and intrigues, contrived to protract the negociation during two or three years. Sometimes Sussex, sometimes Leicester prevailed. The former was sent ambassador to Maximilian: but he carried with him a colleague, the lord North, who had been bribed to betray to the favourite all the secrets of the negociation.[56] Sussex forwarded to Elizabeth the most favourable description of the person, the temper, and the capacity of the archduke:[57] and obtained from that prince a promise that he would be content with the private celebration of mass for himself and his catholic servants; and would assist on occasions of ceremony at the new service in the company of the queen. But in the absence of Sussex, Leicester ruled without controul: a

1567. June 28.

Oct. 18.

And at last repents of her choice. Dec. 10.

[55] Haynes, 421—437.

[56] Camden, i. 148.

[57] Lodge, i. 366, 367. "Yf God coppell you together in lyking, "you shall have of him a trewe husband, a lovying companyon, a "wise councelor, and a faythfull servant: and we shall have as "virtuouse a prynee as ever ruled." Ibid. 372. Sussex, however, did not expect to prevail. Alluding to the secret opposition of Leicester, he says, "When I remember who worke in this vyncyard, "I can hardly hope of a good wyne yere: neverthelesse I wylle do my "parte, whyle I am here, and leave the reste to God." Ibid. i. 373.

council was called, and an answer was returned, that if the archduke really aspired to the hand of Elizabeth, he must abandon without reserve the religion of his fathers.[58] Charles, conceiving himself the dupe of the queen's dissimulation and policy, married Mary, the daughter of Albert, duke of Bavaria.

Dissension between Mary and Darnley.

The history of the English is so interwoven with that of the Scottish queen, that it will again be necessary to revert to the extraordinary events, which took place in the neighbouring kingdom. Mary, in the ardour of her affection, had overlooked the defects in the character of her husband. Experience convinced her that he was capricious in his temper, violent in his passions, implacable in his resentments. He had already contracted habits of ebriety, which led him occasionally into the most scandalous excesses, and made him forget even in public, the respect due to his consort.[59] But his am-

[58] At this proposal the archduke exclaimed: "Howe, counte, "cowld you with reason gyve me councell to be the fyrste of my "race that so soddenly showlde chaunge the relygion that all my "awncestors have so long holden, when I knowe no other: or how can "the quene lyke of me in eny other thyng, that should be so lyght "in chaungyng of my conscyence?—This is my only requeste: yf "her ma^ti^e satysfye me in this, I wyll never slack to serve and "satysfye her whyle I lyve, in all the reste." Ibid. 372.

[59] "Some say he is vicious: whereof too many were witnesses the "other day at Inchkeith. I will not rehearse to your honour, what "of certainty is said of him at his being there." At a public entertainment, Mary requested him not to drink to excess. "He gave "her such words that she left the place in tears." See the letters of Randolph and Drury, in Keith, 329. App. 163. 165, 166. In another letter, after saying that she had given herself wholly both

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bition proved to her a source of more bitter disquietude. She had summoned a parliament for the twofold purpose of attainting the most guilty of the fugitive rebels, and of granting liberty of conscience for those among her subjects, who, like herself, professed the ancient faith. But Darnley insisted, that in addition, the duke of Chastelherault and his partisans should be included in the attainder, and that a matrimonial crown should be granted to himself. By the first of these measures the rival house of Hamilton would have forfeited its right to the succession; by the second, the government would be secured to the king during the term of his natural life. But Mary refused: she was deaf to his entreaties, complaints, and menaces: and the discontented prince directed his resentment against those whom he supposed to be her advisers, and particularly against David Riccio, one of her secretaries.

Account of Riccio.

Riccio was a native of Piedmont, who had come to Scotland in the suite of the ambassador of Savoy. At the request of that minister, the queen had appointed him one of the pages of the chamber, and, on the removal of Raulet, had advanced him to the office of secretary for the French language. All her correspondence with foreign princes passed through his hands; his address and fidelity obtained her approbation, and, on her marriage, he was appointed keeper

body and soul to him, he adds, "and yet she can as much prevail "with him in any thing against his will, as your lordship can with "me to persuade me that I should hang myself." Ellis, ii. 201.

of the privy purse to the king and queen. In this situation he soon earned the enmity of the former, by adhering to his mistress in every domestic quarrel, and perhaps, by refusing to make advances of money without her authority. But in addition to Darnley, there were also many of the natives who viewed his preferment with displeasure. Riccio was a stranger and a catholic; two qualities calculated to excite the jealousy both of the courtiers and of the preachers.[60]

Bonds between Darnley and the exiles.

Besides the lords who had taken refuge in England, several others remained at court, who had been equally engaged in the conspiracy, but had not betrayed themselves by any overt act of rebellion. At the head of the latter were Morton, Ruthven, Lindsay, and Maitland, who, sensible that their fate was linked with that of their associates, anxiously sought an opportunity of preventing the attainder, with which they were threatened.[61] In January, Mary, in opposition to her husband, granted a pardon to the

1566. Jan. 2.

[60] The industry of Mr. Chalmers has traced, from the treasurer's accounts, the gradual advancement of Riccio, and has proved that he was never one of the queen's musicians, as is generally believed, ii. 156.

[61] To account for the conduct of Morton, we are often told, on the very fallible authority of Knox, that the queen had taken the seals from the earl, and given them to her favourite Riccio. This fable is easily refuted. As early as the 12th of October, both Morton and Maitland, though resident at court, and members of the council, were secretly leagued with Murray. They only espie "their time," says Randolph, "and make fair weather, till it shall "come to the pinch." Apud Chalmers, ii. 464. Yet Morton was still chancellor on the ninth of the following April, the day of Riccio's murder. Keith, App. 117. 128.

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duke, on condition that he should reside for some years on the continent; and Maitland, relying on the discontent of the king, formed the project of inducing him to make common cause with the exiles. By the agency of George Douglas, it was suggested to him, that Mary had transferred her affections to Riccio:[62] that the pardon of the Hamiltons, and the refusal of the matrimonial crown, had proceeded from the advice of that minion; and that the only expedient for him to obtain his just rights, was to call in the aid of the expatriated lords. The inexperienced prince became the dupe of this interested advice, and cast himself into the arms of the men, who had hitherto professed themselves his enemies. Two bonds were prepared and subscribed, the one by Darnley, the other by Argyle, Murray, Rothes, Boyd, and Ochiltree.

eb. 20. Darnley engaged to prevent their attainder, to obtain their pardon, to support their religion, and to aid them in all their just quarrels: they to become his true subjects, friends to his friends, and enemies to his enemies; to obtain for him

[62] In a letter from Bedford and Randolph, (Robertson, i. App. xv.) and in a short narrative supposed to be written by lord Ruthven, but not published till after his death, by Cecil, it is insinuated that Riccio was the queen's paramour. There can be no doubt that this is a calumny. It is improbable in itself considering his age and person; it is not mentioned by Knox, whose charity would have rejoiced to advance such a charge against Mary: it is not even hinted by Darnley himself, when he was solicited by the council to make his complaints against her, and "not to spare her." Keith, 349. And it is plain that both the letter and the narrative were written to serve a purpose, at the request of Cecil. See Ellis, ii. 218, 219, 220.

the crown matrimonial during the whole of his life; for that purpose to take part with him "against all and whosoever that live and die "might;" to maintain his just claim to the succession failing the lady Mary; to extirpate, or slay, every gainsayer; and to use their influence with the queen of England, in favour of his mother and brother, "that they might be delivered out "of ward,"[63] These engagements were followed by another still more atrocious, in which Darnley avowed his determination to bring to punishment divers persons, especially an Italian called David, who abused the confidence of the queen; and, if there were any difficulty to proceed by way of law, "to take them and slay them where-"soever it might happen; and thenceforth "bound himself and his heirs to save scaithless "all earls, lords, barons, and others, who should "aid in that enterprise."[64] The other persons marked out for slaughter in this instrument, was supposed to be the earls of Huntley, Bothwell, and Athol, the Lords Flemming and Livingston, and sir James Balfour.[65]

March 1.

Reports were carefully circulated, that "the "evangel" was in danger; that Riccio was a secret agent from the pope, and that Mary had signed the holy league, by which, as was pre-

A public fast.

[63] Goodall, i. 227—233. [64] Ibid. 266. In this instrument "to call," means to proceed by law.

[65] Mary's letter in Keith, 332. Indictment of Yair, Arnot, App. 380.

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tended, the catholic princes bound themselves to exterminate the protestants by a general massacre.[66] Most of the conspirators in Edinburgh were leading members in the kirk, and had procured from the assembly, the proclamation of a

March 3. general fast, to be kept from Sunday to Sunday on the week in which the parliament was to open. As if it were intended to prepare the minds of the godly for scenes of blood, and a revolution in the government, the service for each day was composed of lessons from the Old Testament, descriptive of the extirpation of idolatory, the punishment of wicked princes, and the visitations of God on his people, whenever they neglected the admonitions of the prophets.[67]

March 7. On the Thursday of the fast, the queen opened the parliament: the statute of attainder was drawn by the lords of the articles; and the Tuesday following was fixed for the day on which it

Murder of Riccio. March 9. should be passed. But on the Saturday, Morton, between seven and eight in the evening,

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[66] It appears from Randolph, that he understood the queen had signed some league for the support of the catholic worship. Robertson, i. App. xiv. She had undoubtedly received by Clerneaux, a message from the pontiff, in which he exhorted her to constancy, recommended to her care the interests of the catholic faith in her realm, and requested her to send some of the Scottish prelates to the council of Trent. (Jebb, ii. 25.) She herself hoped at the parliament "to have done some good anent restoring the auld religion;" (Keith, 331) which is explained by Randolph, that "she will have mass free for all men that will hear it." Cotton MSS. Cal. B. 9. f. 232.

[67] Goodall, i. 247—250. 273.

with eighty armed men, took possession of the gates of the palace. Mary, who was indisposed and in the seventh month of her pregnancy, was at the time seated at supper in the closet of her bed-chamber, with the commendator of Holyrood house and the countess of Argyle, her bastard brother and sister. Riccio, the secretary, Erskine, captain of the guard, and Beton, master of the household, were in attendance.[68] Suddenly the king entered by a private staircase, and placing himself next the queen, put his arm round her waist. He was followed by lord Ruthven, in complete armour, the master of Ruthven, Douglas, Ballentyne, and Kerr. Mary, alarmed at the sight of Ruthven, commanded him to quit the room, under the penalty of treason: but he replied, that his errand was with Riccio; and the unfortunate secretary, exclaiming, "Justitia, justitia!" sprung for protection behind his sovereign. Her prayers and gestures were despised. Ballentyne threatened her with his dagger; Kerr presented his pistol to her breast; and Douglas, snatching the king's dirk, struck over her shoulder, and left the weapon sticking in the back of Riccio. The table was thrown over in the struggle; and the assassins, dragging their victim through the

[68] Cecil's Ruthven makes Riccio to be seated at table with her. Keith, App. 123. Mary, in her letter, numbers him among her domestic servants in the room. Keith, 331.

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bed-chamber, dispatched him in the adjoining room, with no fewer than fifty-six wounds.

Mary is imprisoned.

Mary's friends, ignorant of the affray in the closet, had hurried from their apartments to oppose Morton, and his band of armed followers. After some fighting, they were driven back: Huntley and Bothwell made their escape through the windows: the rest maintained themselves in different rooms, till they were allowed to depart,

March 10. about two in the morning. At noon, Darnley, of his own authority, dissolved the parliament: and before evening, he was joined by Murray, and the exiles from Berwick. The follow-

March 11. ing morning, the chiefs of the conspirators sate in secret consultation; and it was resolved to confine the queen in the castle of Stirling, till she should consent to approve in parliament of the late proceedings, to establish "the evan-"gel" by law, and to give to her husband the crown matrimonial. After dinner, relying on the assurances of Darnley, they separated, and repaired to their respective dwellings in the city.[69]

She escapes.

Mary had passed the first night and day in

[69] Keith, 330. App. 119. Robertson, i. App. xv. Arnot, 378. 380. "After this manner," says Knox, "the noblemen were re-"lieved of their trouble, and restored to their places and rooms; "and likewise the church reformed; and all that professed the "evangel within this realm, after fasting and prayer, were delivered "and freed from the apparent dangers which were like to have "fallen upon them." Knox, Hist 394.

fits and lamentations. She felt some relief from the kind expressions of her brother, the earl of Murray; and was no sooner left alone with her husband, than she resumed her former ascendency, and convinced him of the impropriety of his conduct. Darnley's repentance rendered unnecessary the preparations which had been made by Huntley and Bothwell: and the same night, March 12 the king and queen, attended by the captain of the guard and two servants, secretly left the palace, and reached in safety the castle of Dunbar.[70] The royal standard was immediately unfurled: before the end of the week, eight thousand faithful subjects had hastened to the aid of Mary; and as she approached Edinburgh, the murderers left that city, and fled with precipita- March 18. tion to Berwick. The English queen had been informed of the object of the conspiracy; she had even ordered three hundred pounds to be given to Murray before he left Berwick: but when she heard of the result, she sent her congratulations to her Scottish sister, and at her request commanded the assassins to leave her dominions. May 7. But the messenger was instructed to remark at the same time, that England was long and broad;

[70] On the same day the earl of Bedford at Berwick, unaware of the turn which took place that evening, wrote to Cecil exulting "that "every thing now would go well." Apud Chalmers, i. 167. Guzman de Silva, the ambassador, says in his dispatch at the time, that the death of Riccio was plotted in London: that eight thousand crowns had been paid to the conspirators, and that the English ministers plainly looked forward to the opportunity of obtaining the Scottish crown for their sovereign. Simancas MSS.

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and that they had nothing to fear, if they did not provoke inquiry by obtruding themselves on the notice of the public.[71]

Is delivered of a son.

Mary, with her characteristic facility, affected to believe the apology and protestations of her husband;[72] granted a full pardon to Murray and his companions; and, though a few of the minor criminals were punished with death, extended her mercy to several of the conspirators, who were not actually engaged in the murder. As the time of her delivery approached, she took up her residence in the castle of Edinburgh. Both Elizabeth and Murray, the people of England and the people of Scotland, looked forward with suspense and anxiety to the result. It might give Mary an heir to her throne and her pretensions: it might, considering the distressing scenes through which she had passed, prove fatal both to the mother and the child. Murray excluded from the castle every person of eminence but his brother-in-law Argyle; and Elizabeth ordered Randolph, who for his connexion

May 27.

with the conspirators had been expelled from Scotland,[73] to linger in the neighbourhood of

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[71] Ibid. ii. 333.

[72] He published a declaration of his innocence of the conspiracy. Keith, 334. It deceived no one, and lowered him in the estimation of all. Mary herself says, she did always excuse him thereof, and was willing to appear as if she believed it not. Ibid. 350.

[73] Mary having obtained proofs that he had been active in all the conspiracies against her, ordered him to quit the kingdom: and wrote to excuse the measure to Elizabeth, "as his behaviour must

Berwick. At length their hopes, if they really cherished such guilty hopes, were disappointed. The Scottish queen was delivered of a son: and the child lived to ascend the thrones of both kingdoms. Elizabeth was dancing at Greenwich, when Cecil whispered the intelligence in her ear. She instantly retired to her chair, reclined her head on her hand, and appeared for some time absorbed in profound thought. By the next morning her feelings were sufficiently subdued, and the messenger was admitted. She expressed her satisfaction at the happy event; accepted the office of gossip at the baptism, and appointed the earl of Bedford to assist in quality of her ambassador at the ceremony.[74] June 19.

Elizabeth calls a parliament.

In England the birth of the young prince, who was named James, was hailed with exultation by the advocates of the Scottish line: many who had appeared indifferent as long as Mary remained childless, came forward in support of her cause: and Elizabeth herself, jealous of the good fortune of her sister queen, began to think seriously of marriage, that she also might have issue to inherit her crown. At the same time she grew more fixed in her resolution to keep the right of succession undecided,

"have been besides her (Elizabeth's) opinion, and tending to some "other fine or purpose, nor that for the quhilk he was directed "there by her." See her letter in Keith, 344.

[74] Melville, 70.

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perhaps through apprehension of danger, more probably from the selfishness of ambition, which could not bear another so near the throne. Her obstinacy, however, was productive of one advantage to the nation; it put an end to that tame submission to the will of the sovereign, which had characterized and disgraced the parliaments under the dynasty of the Tudors. The discontent of the nation burst forth in defiance of every restraint imposed by the government: and the motives and obligations of the queen were discussed with a freedom of speech, which alarmed the court, and scandalized the advocates of arbitrary power.

Is displeased with her council.

After six prorogations poverty had compelled Elizabeth to summon a parliament. The lords of the council, aware of the national feeling, requested to be informed of her sentiments

Oct. 12.

respecting marriage and the succession. She heard them with impatience. Her subjects, she said, from their experience of the past, might rely on her maternal solicitude for the future. They had no reason to complain of her government, unless it were on acount of the war with France, the blame of which her counsellors might take to themselves, since they had dragged her into it against her better judgment. As far as regarded her marriage, they were acquainted with the negociation, into which she had entered: but as to her opinion respecting

the succession, she should keep it locked up within her own breast. Let them go and perform their duties: and she would perform hers.[75]

And with the parliament. Oct. 18.

As soon as a motion for a supply was made in the lower house, it was opposed, on the ground that the queen had not redeemed the pledge, on the faith of which the last grant had been voted: she had neither married, nor declared her successor. It was in vain that to subdue the opposition, a royal message informed the house, that she had resolved to marry. A vote was passed, that the business of the supply and of the succession should accompany each other.[76]

Petition of the lords. Oct. 22.

The upper house sent a deputation of twenty peers to lay before the queen the evils resulting from her silence. She answered in an angry and imperious tone, that she did not choose that her grave should be dug, while she was yet alive: that the commons had acted like rebels; they had behaved to her as they durst not have behaved to her father: that the lords might come to similar resolutions, if they pleased; their votes were but empty sounds without her assent. She would never confide such high and important interests to a multitude of hairbrained politicians; but meant to select six grave and discreet counsellors, and when she had heard

[75] Letter of Fenelon, the French ambassador, to his court, apud D'Israeli, Curiosities of Literature, iii. 113.

[76] D'Ewes, 124. D'Israeli, ibid.

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their opinions, would acquaint the lords with her decision.[77]

Strong language in the commons

This answer provoked several warm discussions in both houses. Sentiments were uttered, which for centuries had not been heard within those walls; that the tranquillity of the nation was not to be hazarded to lull the apprehensions of a weak and capricious woman: that the queen possessed her high dignity for the public benefit: and that, if she were negligent of her duty, it was the office of the lords and commons to

Oct. 27. compel her to perform it. The earls of Pembroke and Leicester received a prohibition to appear in the royal presence. The duke of Norfolk, who, though he spoke with caution, was suspected of being the leader of the opposition, was marked out for imprisonment and prosecution.[78]

Queen's answer to their petition.

The two houses now joined in a common petition, which was read to the queen by the lord keeper, in presence of a numerous deputation

Nov. 5. of lords and commoners. Her reply was deli-

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[77] Lords' Journals, 635. D'Israeli, 119—121. Mr. D'Israeli thinks that the expression of digging her grave while yet alive, alluded to her supposed objection to marriage, ob nescio quam muliebrem impotentiam. Camden, i. 123. It is however plain that both their petition and the answer refer not to the queen's marriage, but to the succession. Her meaning was explained by herself on another occasion. "I will not be buried while I am living, as my sister was. Do I not "know, how during her life every one hastened to me at Hatfield. "I am not now inclined to see any such travellers." D'Israeli, iii. 114.

[78] Camd. 124, 125. Murdin, 762. D'Israeli, 121.

vered with greater temper, but wrapped as usual in affected obscurity of language. "If," she said, "any here doubt that I am by vow or "determination bent never to trade in that "kind of life (marriage), put out that kind of "heresy, for your belief is there in a wry. For "though I can think it best for a private wo- "man, yet I do strive with myself, to think it "not meet for a prince: and if I can bend my "liking to your need, I will not resist such a "mind. As to the succession, the greatness "of the cause, and the need of your returns "doth make me say, that which I think the "wise may easily guess, that as a short time "for so long continuance, ought not to pass by "rote, as many tell their tales; even so, as cause "by conference with the learned shall shew me "matter worth the utterance for your behoof, "so shall I more gladly pursue your good after "my days, than with all my prayers, whilst I "live, be means to linger my living thread."[79] With this enigmatic answer the commons were not content. But Elizabeth sent them an order to proceed to other matters. They maintained Nov. 9. that the royal message was an infringement of

[79] D'Ewes, 107. I have inserted this speech, to give the reader a specimen of the queen's eloquence. She seems to have thought it beneath her to speak officially in the language of ordinary men. On all similar occasions she employs such quaintness of expression and such studied obscurity, that it is almost always difficult to conceive her meaning.

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their liberties; she repeated the command. They obeyed with reluctance: but still allowed the bill for the subsidy which had been read only once, to lie unnoticed on the table. The queen, after the pause of a fortnight, had the prudence to yield. She revoked her former orders: she even submitted to court the favour of the people, by ordering the sum originally demanded to be reduced. After these concessions the public business proceeded: and as soon as a fifteenth and tenth, with a subsidy, had been voted the parliament was dissolved. On that occasion she took her leave of the two houses in a sarcastic and uncourteous speech, in which she warned them never more to trifle with the patience of their sovereign.[80]

Nov. 12.

Nov. 25.

1567. June 2.

Discontent of Darnley.

The parliament was scarcely dissolved, before the attention of Elizabeth was called towards Scotland, by a succession of events, scarcely to be paralleled in history. The murder of Riccio had disappointed the hopes of Darnley. Instead of obtaining the matrimonial crown, and with it the sovereign authority, he found himself without power or influence, an object of scorn to some and of aversion to others. Mary, though she might forgive, could not forget the outrage

[80] D'Ewes, 117. Journals of Commons, 76. 78. Camden, 127. She suspected all who were warm on this subject of being more friendly to Mary than to her. "If," she says in a paper written by herself, "these fellows were well answered, and paid with lawful coin, "there would be no more counterfeits among them." See Archaëlog. xviii. 242.

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which he had offered her. Neglecting his advice, she formed a new administration, in which to Huntley, whom she had appointed chancellor, and Bothwell, the hereditary admiral of Scotland, she added her brother Murray, and Argyle, who had married the sister of Murray. There existed, indeed, several causes of dissension between Murray and Bothwell; but she prevailed on them to be reconciled: and at their joint intercession, she pardoned Maitland, notwithstanding the warm opposition of Darnley. This imprudent prince threatened, in his vexation, to kill Murray; and soon afterwards absenting himself from court, refused to return, till three of the chief officers of state should be excluded from the royal counsels. In his residence at Stirling, he formed the capricious design of leaving the kingdom: Lennox, his father, unable to dissuade him, wrote to the queen, at whose invitation he consented, though with reluctance, to repair to Edinburgh. Having endeavoured in vain to change his resolution, Mary led him before the council, and, holding him by the hand, solicited him to detail his complaints, and not to spare her, if she were the cause of offence. In his answer he exonerated her from all blame:[81] but on every other point was sullen

Aug. 2.

Aug. 4.

Sept. 22.

Sept. 29.

[81] Keith, 345. 351. At this time, and for two months before, Buchanan represents the queen as living in the most shameful adultery with Bothwell. Now it is impossible to reconcile such an assertion with the testimony of those who were present when Mary

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and reserved. Returning, however, to Stirling, he acquainted her by letter that his grievances might be reduced to two heads; the want of authority, and the neglect of the nobility. She replied, that the first proceeded from his own fault, since he had employed the authority with which she first entrusted him, against herself; and that he could not expect the nobility to love and honour a prince, who never sought to deserve their affection or respect.

Mary's illness. Oct. 8. Oct. 17.

The queen, with the lords of the council, repaired to Jedburgh to hold the court, called the justice ayre.[82] Here she was seized with a

exhorted Darnley to explain his motives of discontent. "Her "majesty said, that she had a clear conscience, that in all her life "she had done no action which could any wise prejudge his or her "own honour; nevertheless, as she might, perhaps, have given "offence without design, she was willing to make amends as far as "he should require; and, therefore, prayed him not to dissemble the "occasion of his displeasure, if any he had, nor to spare her in the "least matter." He would not at all own that he intended any voyage, or had any discontent, and declared freely, "that the queen "had not given him any occasion for any." "We testify, as far as "things could come to our knowledge, he has had no ground of com- "plaint; but on the contrary, that he has the very best of reason, to "look upon himself as one of the most fortunate princes in Christen- "dom, could he but know his own happiness." Lords of Council, Oct. 8. Keith, 349. Maitland sent a copy of this statement to the archbishop of Glasgow. From his letter it appears, that Mary desired the lords of the council to subscribe it, and forward it to the king of France, the queen mother, and the cardinal of Lorrain. It is, however, evident, that he meant it to be considered as detailing the truth. (Laing, ii. App. 73.) And it is confirmed by other letters from Le Croc and from Melville. Keith, 345. 350.

[82] Those who represent Mary as enamoured of Bothwell, attach much importance to a visit which she paid him from Jedburgh. On

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dangerous fever; on the seventh and eighth days she lay for several hours in a state of insensibility, and so slender were the hopes of her recovery, that the lords resolved, in the event of her death, to proceed to Edinburgh, and settle the government; a resolution which, if it had been executed, would undoubtedly have excluded the king, and placed the regency in the hands of Murray. During the intervals between the fits, Mary edified the assistants, by her piety, composure and resignation. She recommended, by letter, her son to the protection of the king of France, and of the queen of England: and sending for the lords, exhorted them to live in harmony with each other, required them to watch with care over the education of the young prince, and solicited, as a last favour, liberty of conscience for their countrymen who professed the catholic faith, the faith in which she had been bred, and in which it was her determination to die.[83] On the ninth day, Oct 26.

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the 8th he had been wounded in the hand by an outlaw; and, if we may believe them, her love induced her that instant to take a dangerous journey to see him. But Chalmers has shewn, that she allowed eight days to pass; and that it was on the 16th that she rode from Jedburgh to Hermitage castle, a distance of twenty English miles, and returned the same day. Her visit might be for a political purpose, as he was her lieutenant on the borders, and as she ordered a "masse of papers," to be forwarded to him the next day. Chalmers, i. 191. ii. 12.

[83] See the original letters in Keith, App. 133—136. Camden, 130. Maitland attributes her fever to anxiety of mind, caused by the behaviour of Darnley. Laing, ii. App. 74.

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however the symptoms were more favourable: she began to recover slowly; and the king, who had been sent for at the beginning of the illness, at length paid her a visit, but departed on the morrow.[84]

Oct. 28.

Conspiracy at Craigmillar. Nov. 20. Nov. 26.

As soon as the queen was able to mount her horse, she proceeded along the banks of the Tweed to Berwick, and thence to the castle of Craigmillar, where she was joined by Darnley. But no advance was made towards a reconciliation. He was too proud to submit: she too suspicious to trust him. The delicacy of her health added, perhaps, to the anxiety of her mind: and she was often heard to lament that she had not died of the fever at Jedburgh.[85]

Dec. 2.

Her situation did not escape the eyes of Murray and Maitland, the enemies of Darnley, who had accused the former of a design to assassinate him, and had demanded, as the price of his return to court, that the latter should be dismissed from the office of secretary.[86] As soon as the king departed, they formed the following plan, by which they might both secure themselves from his hostility, and obtain a pardon for their associates in exile. Their hopes were founded on the persuasion that Mary would cheerfully purchase, at any price, a divorce from the man who had so cruelly offended her: and

[84] Le Croc, the ambassador, says of the king's conduct, c'est une faute que je ne puis excuser, 133.

[85] Keith, pref. vii.

[86] Ibid. 351.

that the consent of the other noblemen might be won, if it were rewarded with an act of parliament, confirming to them the several grants which had been received from the improvident liberality of the queen. With this view they opened the design separately to Huntley, Argyle, and Bothwell; and all five waited in a body on Mary. Maitland, having reminded her of the injuries which she had received from Darnley, and of the obstinacy with which he persevered in his misconduct, conjured her, in the name of all present, to give her consent to a divorce. At first she discovered no disapprobation of the proposal, provided it might be done according to law, and without prejudice to the right of her child. But soon she asked, whether it were not more advisable, that she should retire for a while, and reside with her relations in France: perhaps Darnley, thus abandoned to himself, might learn to reform. At length she concluded in these words: "I "will that ye do nothing, through which any "spot may be laid to my honour or conscience: "and therefore, I pray you, rather let the mat- "ter be in the state that it is, abiding till God "of his goodness put remedy thereto."[87]

This answer of the queen put an end to the

[87] Of this conversation there can be no doubt. It was brought forward with Huntley and Argyle, to prove that Murray was the original proposer of the plan to get rid of Darnley. In his answer he passes it over; and by his silence, acknowledges its accuracy.

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project of divorce: and the lords reverted to another scheme, which had been previously agitated, that of assassination. Bothwell took upon himself to perpetrate the crime: the others to save him scaithless from the consequences. A bond was immediately drawn by sir James Balfour. It styled the king a young fool and proud tyrant: expressed the determination of the subscribers to prevent him from obtaining the rule over them: obliged them to remove him by some expedient or other; and made each declare that he would repute "the deed his own," by whomsoever it might be done.[88] This instrument was signed by Huntley, Argyle, Bothwell, Maitland, and Balfour. Whether Murray added his name may be disputed. To me he appears to have acted with his usual duplicity: he would remain neuter; "would neither help nor hinder."[89]

Bond to murder Darnley.

From Craigmillar, the queen proceeded to Stirling, where the royal infant was baptized. Though Darnley was in the castle, he did not

Pardon of the exiles. Dec. 17.

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[88] Ormiston's confession in Laing, ii. 322.

[89] It is difficult to doubt the sincerity of Ormiston in his confession. According to him, Bothwell declared, that "the haill lords "in Craigmillar, all that wes ther with the queen," had determined on the death of Darnley. (Laing, ii. 320.) But Bothwell might exaggerate, and Murray himself maintains, that he signed no bond there. (Goodall, ii. 321.) I have, therefore, adopted the deposition of Paris: il ne veult n'ayder ne nuire. (Laing, ii. 299.) That deposition was plainly made to propitiate Murray; it, therefore, says as little against him as was possible; and yet amounts to an acknowledgment that he was privy to the plot, and had no objection to its success.

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appear at the ceremony. Elizabeth had forbidden her ambassador, the earl of Bedford, to give him the title of king; and Le Croc, the French agent, had received an order not even to speak to him till he should be reconciled to the queen. When the rejoicings were over, Bedford and Castelnau, each in the name and by the command of his sovereign, solicited the return of Morton, and was seconded by the prayers of Murray, Bothwell, and the other lords. Mary could no longer refuse; a pardon for the banished earl and his seventy-six associates was granted, on condition that they should not return to Scotland during the two following years; and Darnley, either to shew his displeasure, or through fear for his life, left the court the same day and retired to his father's residence in Glasgow.[90]

Dec. 24.

Before the lords would intercede in favour of Morton, they had required, and received his subscription, and the subscriptions of the other exiles, to the bond devised at Craigmillar. In a few days they again solicited in his favour; and Mary consented that he might return to his native country, but under an obligation not to approach within seven miles of the court.[91] The

Consultation about the murder.

[90] Keith, 429. Chalmers, 175. 342.

[91] Compare the letter of Douglas, Robertson, ii. App. xii. with the confession of Morton, Laing, ii. 354. When the lords proposed the divorce to Mary, at Craigmillar, they made the return of Morton an indispensable condition; had they proposed the assassination to her,

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1567. Jan. 20.

moment he entered Scotland, Bothwell and Maitland hastened to meet him: they consulted together at Wittingham, near the Lannermoor hills; and the murder of Darnley formed the subject of their deliberation. When they separated, Morton proceeded to St. Andrew's; the others returned to Edinburgh, accompanied by Archibald Douglas, who was soon remanded with this message from Maitland: "Schaw the erle "Morton, that the quene will hear no speech of "that matter appointed unto him." When the messenger complained of its obscurity, he was told that it would be sufficiently intelligible to his master.[92]

Reconciliation of the king and queen. Jan. 4.

It chanced that at this time the small-pox was prevalent in Glasgow, and that Darnley took the infection. When the news reached Edinburgh, Mary sent her own physician to her husband, with a message that she would shortly visit him

Jan. 24.

herself.[93] This promise she fulfilled: their af-

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they would have done the same. Her delay in granting the pardon, and the restrictions which she successively appended to it, shew that no such thing had taken place. If it had, she would certainly have permitted him to return to the court.

[92] Ibid. Arnot, 389. and the letters of Bedford, Jan. 9, and of Drury, Jan. 23, in Chalmers, ii. 227. Goodall, i. 282. If we may believe Morton, he refused to concur in the murder, unless Bothwell should procure him permission from the queen. This was promised, but not effected. One thing, however, is plain, that he permitted Douglas, his confidential friend, to act as his substitute. See his confession, Bannatyne, 494, and Laing, ii. 354, and the letter of Douglas, Robertson, ii. App. xii.

[93] These particulars, from the letters of Drury and Bedford, prove the falsehood of Buchanan's account. Chalmers, ii. 178.

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fection seemed to revive; and they mutually promised to forget all former causes of offence.[94] From Glasgow, as soon as he was able to remove, she returned with him to Edinburgh, and placed him for the benefit of the air, without the walls, in a house belonging to the provost of St. Mary's, generally called "the Kirk of Field." Here it was that the conspirators prepared to execute the plan which had been discussed, and probably arranged, in the meeting at Wittingham. By a door in the city wall, their agents obtained access to the cellar of the house, undermined the foundations in several parts, and placed a sufficient quantity of gunpowder under the angles of the building.[95] The queen visited her hus-

Jan. 8.

Jan. 31

[94] It seems to me proved beyond contradiction, that a reconciliation had apparently, at least, taken place. In addition to the testimonies collected by other writers, Mr. Chalmers adduces that of Clernault, taken at Berwick, Feb. 12: "la bonne intelligence et union en quoi "las dame, et las s[r] roy vivoient depuis trois semaines. Telle mala- "venture est advenue au temps que sa ma[te] et le roy estoient au "meillure mesnage que l'on pouvoit desirer." ii. 114.

[95] In the confessions of Powrie, Hay, Hepburn, and Paris, wrung from them by torture, it is said, that the powder was placed, between ten and eleven at night, in the queen's bed-chamber, under the king's, while she, with her attendants, were with him in his own room. (Laing, ii. 269. 279. 284. 304.) I see not what advantage could be derived from this story; yet it is difficult to believe it. Not only do the time, the distance, and the manner of conveying the powder, render it improbable (see note [P]); but the council, in their letter of the 10th, Mary, in her's of the 12th, and the trial of Morton prove, that the house was blown up from the very foundation, so that one stone was not left upon another. Hence the real mine must have been made in the cellar. Keith, pref. viii. Laing, ii. 97. 351.

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band daily, gave him repeated testimonies of her affection, and frequently slept in the room under his bed-chamber. She had promised to be present at a masked ball, to be given on the ninth of February, in honour of the marriage of Sebastiani and Margaret Carwood, two of her servants: and the certainty of her absence on that night, induced the conspirators to select it for the execution of the plot.

Darnley is murdered. Feb. 9.

On the ninth, Mary went as usual to the Kirk of Field, with a numerous retinue remained in Darnley's company from six till almost eleven o'clock, and at her departure kissed him, and taking a ring from her finger, placed it on his. She then returned by the light of torches to Holyrood house: on the termination of the ball, a little after twelve, she retired to her chamber; Feb. 10. and about two the palace and city were shaken by a tremendous explosion. It was soon ascertained, that the house of Kirk of Field had been blown up with gunpowder, and that the bodies of the king and his page Taylor were lying dead in the garden, while those of three men and a boy remained buried in the ruins.[96]

This tragical event has given birth to an interesting controversy, whether the Scottish queen was or was not privy and consenting to the death of her husband. Few questions in history have been more keenly or more obstinately discussed;

[96] Keith, pref. viii. Laing, ii. 97.

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but her advocates, as well as her accusers, occasionally leave the pursuit of truth for the pursuit of victory; their ardour betrays both parties into errors and misrepresentations; and the progress of the historian is retarded at every step by the conflicting opinions and insidious artifices of his guides. In the conduct of Mary, previously to the murder of Darnley, I see nothing that can fairly impeach her character: in her subsequent behaviour there is much of more doubtful tendency. In the supposition of her guilt, it will be considered as the intended consequence of the crime: in the supposition of her innocence, it may be explained away by a reference to the difficulties of her situation. I shall narrate the facts with impartiality: the reader must draw his own conclusion.[97]

Mourning of Mary.

It is acknowledged by all, that the queen acted, at first, as an innocent woman would have acted. She lamented the fate of a husband, to whom she had been so lately reconciled. She expressed a suspicion, that it had been intended to involve her in the same destruction; and she repeatedly announced her resolution, to take ample vengeance on the authors of so flagitious a crime. Her chamber was hung with black: the light of the day was excluded; and in darkness and solitude she received the few, who were

[97] I have hitherto made no allusion to the celebrated letters, because I shall have a better opportunity in the commencement of the next volume.

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admitted to offer their respects and condolence. Letters describing the manner of the murder, the state of her mind, and the measures she intended to pursue, were written to the foreign courts;[98] and a proclamation was issued, offering rewards in money and land, for the discovery and apprehension of the murderers, with a full pardon to any one of the party who would accuse his accomplices. The same noblemen continued to attend the royal person; and Murray, who the day before the murder had left the court on a visit to his wife, rejoined his colleagues in the council.

Feb. 10.

Feb. 12.

Bothwell accused of the murder.

The dissension which had so long prevailed between the king and queen, was universally known; and that knowledge naturally provoked a suspicion, that Mary herself might have been a secret accomplice in the murder. In Edinburgh, inquiries were made; much was discovered to implicate Bothwell and his servants, as the actual assassins; and the charge was openly brought against him in anonymous "bills," affixed, during the darkness of the night, in the most public parts of the city. In a few days, the earl of Lennox, the father of Darnley, came forward, and a correspondence of some interest took place between him and the queen. At his request, she summoned a parliament: Bothwell, and some others, were accused by him of the

Feb. 20.

March 24.

[98] Keith, pref. viii. Anderson, ii. 202. Laing, ii. 97. Killegrew's letter in Chalmers, i. 209.

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murder; and a day was appointed for the trial of their guilt or innocence. Lennox left Glasgow to attend: but on the eve of "the assize" he wrote from Stirling to request an adjournment.[99] The earl of Murray, with his usual caution, had solicited leave to travel, and, intrusting his interests to the care of Bothwell, departed from Edinburgh on his way to France. April 11.

Whatever motives Lennox might allege for his absence, it is evident that he was intimidated by the superior power of Bothwell, and by the association in his support. On this account he had already solicited the mediation of the queen of England; and Elizabeth instantly dispatched a messenger to Scotland with a letter, which did equal honour to her head and her heart. Had it been perused by Mary before the trial, it would probably have opened her eyes to the abyss which yawned before her: but there is reason to believe that it was not suffered to reach the hands of that unfortunate princess till after the aquittal of the accused.[100] April 8.

The provost of Berwick, the bearer of the letter, had reached Holyrood house at an early hour in the morning. But the object of his mission was already known; he was treated with incivility, and could procure no one to inform

He is tried and acquitted. April 12.

[99] Anderson, i. 36. 54. Killegrew says. "I find great suspicions, "but no proofs." Chalmers, i. 209.

[100] This letter is in Robertson, i. App. xix.

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Mary of his arrival. After a delay of some hours, Maitland took the letter, and returned with an answer, that the queen was still in bed, and that no one dared to disturb her repose. Bothwell immediately proceeded to the Tolbooth, surrounded by two hundred soldiers, and four thousand gentlemen. Maitland rode by his side; Morton accompanied him, and supported his cause; the earl of Argyle presided as hereditary justiciary of Scotland.[101] A motion to postpone the trial for forty days, was made and rejected; and as no prosecutor appeared, the jury having heard the indictment, returned a verdict in favour of the accused. He immediately affixed a paper to the cross, in which he reasserted his innocence, and offered to fight, in single combat, against any native of Scotland, France, or England, who should dare to charge him with the murder.[102]

To clear herself from suspicion, it was incumbent on the queen to bring the real assassins to justice. This had been remarked to her by Elizabeth; it had been urged in the most impressive terms by her ambassador at Paris, and it had, on more than one occasion, been acknow-

[101] See Drury's letter of Apr. 15. Chalmers, ii. 245—247. Mr. Laing will not allow that Morton was at all concerned in this rialt. (i. 70.) Yet I see not how he can elude the testimony of Belforest, (Jebb, i. 403); or of Camden, Mortonio causam ejus sustinente, i. 138. Morton had been appointed one of the jury, but paid the forfeit, under pretence that he was a kinsman of Darnley. Drury, ibid.

[102] Anderson, ii. 107.

ledged by Mary herself. But how, her adversaries ask, did she proceed? She refused the reasonable petition of her father-in-law; she granted Bothwell a collusive trial; and she persisted in maintaining his innocence on the credit of an acquittal, which, to every impartial observer, furnished additional confirmation of his guilt. Would she have acted in a manner so fatal to her reputation, had she not been impelled by some powerful motive, such as consciousness of crime, or a licentious passion for the person of the murderer? In reply, her advocates remark, that she was a young and defenceless woman in the hands of a faction; that she could receive no information, could adopt no measure, but through the medium of her council; and that this council was composed of the very persons who had planned the murder, or directed its execution, or given bonds to screen the perpetrators from punishment. It was no wonder, then, if in such circumstances, and surrounded by such interested and unprincipled advisers, she were taught to believe, that Bothwell was innocent, that the accusation had been suggested by the malice of his enemies, and that Lennox requested a delay, because he found himself unable to substantiate the charge.

Proceedings of the Scottish parliament.

Two days after the trial the parliament was opened, and its proceedings appear to cast some light on the real object of those who had pro-

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cured the death of Darnley. Though Mary had reigned but a short time, she had already bestowed, at the solicitation of her ministers, two thirds of the property of the crown on them and their adherents. They held, however, these acquisitions by a precarious tenure: as the law of Scotland gave the sovereign the power of revoking all such grants at any time, before he or she had reached the age of twenty-five years. It was known that the late king had expressed himself with much warmth against the improvident bounty of his wife. In the preceding April, Mary had made a partial revocation; and, as the present was the last year in which she could exercise that right, there could be little doubt that Darnley, had he lived, would have urged her to a general act of resumption. The great object of the lords was to take away the very possibility of such a measure. In the short

April 14. space of three days, the lands forfeited by Huntley were restored the grants made to Murray, Bothwell, Morton, Crawford, Caithness, Rothes, Semple, Herries, Maitland, and others, were confirmed; and the power of revocation was taken both from the queen and her successors. In addition, the act of abolishing the papal jurisdiction, which had been made by the convention in 1560, but had never received the royal assent, was now ratified; but to it was appended, probably to silence the objections of the queen, a permission for all Scotsmen to serve

God according to the dictates of their consciences.[103]

A new bond to Bothwell.

The next proceeding unfolds to us another and important part of the original conspiracy. When Bothwell undertook to murder the husband, he appears to have demanded, as the price of his services, the marriage of the widow. On the day after the dissolution of parliament, twenty-four of the principal peers, comprising, as well those who had been distinguished by their loyalty, as those who had repeatedly borne arms against their sovereign, assembled and subscribed a new bond. They were made to assert their belief of the innocence of Bothwell: they obliged themselves to defend him against all calumniators, with their bodies, heritages and goods; and they promised upon their consciences, and as they would answer to the eternal God, to promote a marriage between him and the queen, as soon as it could be done by law, and she might think convenient; and for that purpose to aid him with their votes, their lives, and their goods, against all mortals whomsoever. A more disgraceful association does not sully the page of history.[104]

April 20.

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[103] Keith, 378, Act. Parl. ii. 547. It is singular, that Anderson published the confirmation to Bothwell, and omitted the others, i. 117.

[104] Keith, i. 383. Anderson, i. 107. The subscribers comprise all the bishops that were in parliament but one, all the earls but two, and all the lords but five.

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He seizes the person of the queen. April 24.

The next day Mary rode to Stirling, to visit her infant son, whom, for greater security, she had lately intrusted to the custody of the earl of Marr. On her return, she had reached the Foulbriggs, half a mile from the castle of Edinburgh, when she was met by Bothwell at the head of one thousand horse. To resist would have been fruitless; and the queen with her attendants, the earl of Huntley, Maitland, and Melville, was conducted to the castle of Dunbar. On the following morning, Huntley and Maitland were liberated: the queen was detained ten days longer: nor did she leave the walls of Dunbar till she had consented to become the wife of Bothwell.

She consents to marry him.

To explain this extraordinary transaction, her enemies represent it as a collusion between the parties. They had long been lovers; they wished to marry; and a shew of violence was made to save the reputation of the queen.[105] It

[105] To these insinuations may be opposed two powerful objections. 1° Mary's enemies never spoke of the collusion for many months afterwards. In their different proclamations, and in the act of parliament against Bothwell, they considered her captivity as real, and effected by superior force. Anderson, i. 131. 136. 139. 142. Act. Parl. iii. 6—8. 2°. To prove the collusion, they produced a paper said to have been written or signed by her, and purporting to be a licence to the lords to subscribe the bond on the 20th. Now, if this licence were genuine, no appearance of force would have been necessary; she had already declared to the whole nobility of Scotland, that she was willing to marry the earl. If it be not, how can we assent to an hypothesis, the framers of which were compelled to commit an act of forgery for its support?

is, however, but fair to listen to her own story. Mary tells us, that previously to her visit to Stirling, Bothwell had dropped some hints of marriage. but received so resolute an answer, as convinced him that force alone could win her consent. On her return towards Edinburgh, he seized her person, and conducted her against her will to Dunbar. There he renewed his suit with more earnestness; conjured her to attribute his violence to the ardour of his affection: and laid before her the bond of the lords with their respective signatures. Mary perused it with astonishment and dismay: yet her repugnance was not subdued. It did not arise, if we may believe her own assertion, from any suspicion that the earl had been guilty of the murder of Darnley—she had been taught by all around her, to believe the charge groundless and vexatious—but she considered the match unequal, and the proposal premature: and she wished, before she entered on another marriage, to take the advice of her friends both at home and abroad. She had at first cherished a hope that the news of the outrage would summon an army of loyal subjects to rescue her from her prison: but day passed after day; no sword was drawn in her cause, no attempt made in her favour: the apathy of the lords proved to her that the bond was genuine, and that she was a captive in the hands of an audacious subject. Bothwell insensibly assumed a more decisive tone: "nor

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" did he ceise till, by persuasion and importu-
" nate suit, accompanied with force, he had
" driven her to end the work."[106] The meaning of the words " accompanied with force," she has not explained: Melville, her servant and fellow prisoner, assures us that it was the violation of her person.[107]

They are married.

Bothwell now left the fortress: but it was to conduct the captive queen from one prison to another, from the castle of Dunbar to that of

May 3.

Edinburgh. Here she pleaded for time, that she might obtain the consent of the king of France, and of her relations of the house of Guise. But his ambition was too impatient to run the hazard of delay. The only remaining obstacle, his existing marriage with Janet Gordon, sister to the earl of Huntley, was in a few days removed. Both had already sued for a divorce, she on the ground of adultery in the consistorial, he on that of consanguinity in the archiepiscopal, court: in both a favourable judgment was pronounced: and it was hoped that the objections of the protestants would be silenced by the decision of the one, those of the catholics by that of the other. Exactly one

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[106] Anderson, i. 89. 102.

[107] Melville, 80. Melville's testimony is corroborated by that of Mary's enemies, who say she was compelled " to become his bed-
" fellow by force, fear, and (as by many conjectures may well be
" suspected,) by other extraordinary and unlawful means." Keith, 418. See, on this subject, a powerful paper by Tytler, in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, i. 538.

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month after his trial, Bothwell led the queen to the court of session, where, in the presence of the judges, she forgave him the forcible abduction of her person, and declared that he had restored her to the full enjoyment of liberty: the next day, she created him duke of Orkney; and having granted a pardon to the lords who had subscribed the bond, was married to him by a reformed minister in the hall of Holyrood house.[108] Still, however, she remained a prisoner. Guards continually watched the passages leading to her apartments: no person could obtain access to her, except in the presence of Bothwell; and the harsh treatment which she daily experienced, convinced her that she had given herself a cruel and imperious master. The unhappy queen was often discovered in tears. Her present sufferings taught her to perceive and lament her past indiscretion: she could have no idea of that long train of evils with which it was to be followed.[109]

May 12.

May 15.

[108] Anderson, i. 87. 136. Melville, 80. Laing, i. 94. There is an unimportant controversy, whether the marriage ceremony was performed by a priest as well as a minister.

[109] Anderson, i. 132. 136. Melville, 82.

NOTE [A], Page 146.

THUS the temporalties of the bishopric of Exeter, in the 26th of Henry VIII. amounted to 1566*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.* per annum: by the 5th of Edward VI. they had been reduced to 421*l.* Rymer, xv. 282—289. When Gardiner had Winchester, the annual revenue of the bishopric was 3885*l.* 3*s.* 3¾*d.*: under his successor it was only 1333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* Strype, ii. 526. From these and other instances it appears, that in general the incomes of the richer bishopries were reduced about two thirds, those of the others about one half. I should add that, during the five years and a half of Edward's reign, eighteen free schools were founded. Their endowments amounted to 306*l.* per annum. Strype. ii. 535. Rec. 159.

NOTE [B], Page 161.

The history of their interview is interesting. Ridley waited on Mary, September 8, 1552, and was courteously received. After dinner he offered to preach before her in the church. She begged him to make the answer himself. He urged her again: she replied that he might preach: but neither she, nor any of hers, would hear him. *Ridley.* "Madam, I trust you will "not refuse God's word." *Mary.* "I cannot tell what you "call God's word. That is not God's word now which was "God's word in my father's time." *Ridley.* "God's word is "all one in all times; but it is better understood and practised "in some ages than in others." *Mary.* "You durst not for your "ears have preached that for God's word in my father's time,

"which you do now. As for your new books, thank God, I "never read them. I never did, nor ever will do." Soon afterwards she dismissed him with these words: "My lord, for "your gentleness to come and see me, I thank you: but for "your offer to preach before me, I thank you not." As he retired, he drank according to custom with sir Thomas Wharton, the steward of her household; but suddenly his conscience smote him: "Surely," he exclaimed, "I have done wrong. I "have drunk in that house in which God's word hath been re- "fused. I ought, if I had done my duty, to have shaken the dust "off my shoes for a testimony against this house." Fox, ii. 131.

NOTE [C], Page 161.

It has been asserted, on the authority of Fox (iii. p. 12), that the protestants of Suffolk, before they would support the claim of Mary, extorted from her, as an indispensable condition, a promise to make no alteration in the religion established under Edward. Is this statement correct?

Fox himself has preserved a document, which proves that it is not. During the persecution, these very persons presented to the queen's commissioners a long petition in favour of their religion. It was certainly the time for them to have urged the promise, if any had been given. But they appear to have no knowledge of any such thing. They do not make the remotest allusion to it. They speak, indeed, of their services: but instead of attributing them to the promise of the queen, they insinuate the contrary, by asserting that they supported her claim, because their religion taught them to support the rightful heir (Fox. iii. 578—583). To me, their silence on this occasion seems conclusive.

It has been thought a confirmation of the assertion of Fox, that Cobb presented to the queen, soon after her accession, a supplication in favour of the reformed creed, signed by 100 persons,

from Norfolk. But we know not the contents of the supplication: and it was proved that Cobb was an impostor, and that the signatures were forgeries. For the offence he stood in the pillory, November 24th, 1553.

A better confirmation may be found in Noailles (iii. 16), from whom we learn that Wyat and his accomplices charged the queen with having broken two promises: one not to make alterations in religion, another not to marry a foreigner. Yet little credit can be given to reports circulated by rebels to justify their rebellion. Both are probably fictions, the object of which was to irritate the people.

The only thing approaching to a promise which I can discover, is in the queen's speech to the lord mayor, on occasion of the tumult at St. Paul's cross. "She meaned gratiously not to "compell or straine other men's consciences otherwise then God "should, as she trusted, put in their heartes a perswasyon of the "truth thorough the openinge of his word unto them." (Council book, Archæol. xviii. 173.) However, as if she were apprehensive that her meaning might be misunderstood, in a few days she published a proclamation, in which she repeated the same, but with this addition: "untill such time as further order by common "consent may be taken therein." Wilk. Con. iv. 86.

NOTE [D]. Page 193.

The principal persons restored were Gertrude the widow, and Courteney the son of the marquess of Exeter, Thomas Howard, son of the earl of Surrey, and the two daughters of lord Montague who had suffered under Henry; Edward Seymour, son to the duke of Somerset, and the heirs of Arundel, Stanhope, and Partridge, who had been beheaded with Somerset, under Edward. The duke of Norfolk, who was supposed to have been attainted on the last day of Henry's life, did not ask for the same benefit. He denied the validity of the attainder. The case was argued before the judges at Serjeants' inn. The duke produced

the original act, and the commission to give to it the royal assent. His counsel remarked, that, contrary to custom, the king's signature was placed, not above, but below the title; and that the letters were too perfect to have been made by a person at the point of death; whence they inferred that there was no sufficient evidence of the royal assent having been given, and that of course the attainder was of no force. For greater security, however, a bill was passed, "to avoid" the attainder. When it was sent to the lower house, lord Paget appeared as a witness, and declared on his honour that the king did not sign the commission, but that a servant of the name of William Clark impressed on it the royal stamp. The patentees, who had purchased some of the duke's property, petitioned to be heard by counsel; but they afterwards referred the matter to arbitration, and the bill passed. Journals, 32. Dyer's Reports, 93. The duke had, however, taken the precaution to obtain a general pardon of all offences from the queen. Rymer, xv. 337.

NOTE [E], Pages 284 and 292.

It may be asked why I have omitted the affecting martyrdom of the three women of Guernsey, and the preternatural death of Gardiner. My answer is, that I believe neither. 1°. The first rests on the doubtful authority of Fox, whose narrative was immediately contradicted, and disproved by Harding. Fox replied, and Persons wrote in refutation of that reply. I have had the patience to compare both, and have no doubt that the three women were hanged as thieves, and afterwards burnt as heretics; that no one knew of the pregnancy of one of them, a woman of loose character; and that the child was found dead in the flames after the body of the mother had fallen from the gibbet. The rest we owe to the imagination of the martyrologist or of his informer. See Fox, iii. 625, and Persons' Examination of Fox, part ii. p. 91.

2º. Fox tells us that Gardiner, on the 16th of October, invited to dinner the old duke of Norfolk: but so eagerly did he thirst after the blood of Ridley and Latimer, that he would not sit down to table, but kept the duke waiting some hours till the messenger arrived with the news of their execution. Then he ordered dinner: but in the midst of his triumph God struck him with a strangury: he was carried to his bed in intolerable torments; and never left it alive. (Fox, iii. 450.) Burnet has repeated the tale. (Burnet, ii. 329.) Yet it is plainly one of the silly stories palmed upon the credulity of the martyrologist: for,

1º. The old duke of Norfolk could not have been kept waiting; he had been twelve months in his grave. He was buried October 2d in the preceding year.

2º. Gardiner had already been ill for some time. Noailles (v. 127.) informed his court, on the 9th of September, that the chancellor was indisposed with the jaundice, and in some danger.

3º. On the 6th of October he was worse, and in more danger from the dropsy than the jaundice. There was no probability that he would live till Christmas (v. 150.) From the 7th to the 19th he was confined to his chamber; and left it for the first time that day to attend the parliament. These dates are irreconcileable with the story in Fox: according to which, he must have been seized with his disease on the 16th, and could never have appeared in public afterwards.

NOTE [F], Page 328.

These distempers began during the drought in 1556. During the summer fevers prevailed: in the winter quartan agues, which generally proved fatal to those who had previously recovered from the fever. In 1557, the mortality was greater than before; and in 1558 it increased in a more alarming degree. "About "August," (says Cooper) "the fevers raged again in such "manner, as never plague or pestilence, I think, killed a greater

" number. If the people of the realm had been divided into " four parts, certainly three parts out of those four, should have " been found sick ..... In some shires no gentlemen almost " escaped, but either himself or his wife or both were sick, and " very many died.....In most poor men's houses, the master, " dame, and servant were all sick in such manner, that one " could not help another." Apud Strype, iii. 476.

NOTE [G], Page 356.

In the first year of her reign, the queen gave the following explanation of her supremacy, in " an admonition to simple " men, deceived by malicious."

" Her majesty forbiddeth all manner of her subjects to give " ear or credit to such perverse and malicious persons, which " most sinisterly and maliciously labour to notify to her loving " subjects, how by words of the said oath it may be collected, " that the kings or queens of this realm, possessors of the crown, " may challenge authority and power of ministry of divine ser- " vice in the church, wherein her said subjects be much abused " by such evil-disposed persons. For certainly her majesty " neither doth, nor ever will challenge any other authority, than " that was challenged and lately used by the noble kings of fa- " mous memory, king Henry the eighth, and king Edward the " sixth, which is, and was of ancient time due to the imperial " crown of this realm; that is, under God, to have the sove- " reignty and rule over all manner of persons born within these " her realms, dominions, and countries, of what estate, either " ecclesiastical or temporal, soever they be, so as no other foreign " power shall or ought to have any superiority over them. And " if any person, that hath conceived any other sense of the form " of the said oath, shall accept the same oath with this interpre- " tation, sense or meaning: her majesty is well pleased to ac- " cept every such in that behalf, as her good and obedient sub- " jects, and shall acquit them of all manner of penalties con-

" tained in the said act against such, as shall peremptorily or " obstinately refuse to take the same oath."

This explanation satisfied many of the puritans; the catholics objected to it, that it seemed to give to her, spiritual as well as civil authority, and at the same time excluded all spiritual jurisdiction derived from any foreign bishop.

NOTE [H], Page 358.

It should be observed, that deprivation was not the only punishment inflicted on the catholic bishops for their nonconformity. They were objects of persecution, with perhaps one exception, as long as they lived. Those who had attended in parliament, were deprived immediately: the others were sent for from the country, and shared the fate of their brethren. All were placed under custody: and during the winter the sentence of excommunication was published against Heath and Thirlby, and in the summer against Bonner. By that time Tunstal of Durham, Morgan of St. David's, Ogilthorp of Carlisle, White of Winchester, and Baines of Coventry, had died of the contagious malady which prevailed. Scot of Chester, Goldwel of St. Asaph, and Pate of Worcester, found the means to retire to the continent. Of the remaining seven, Heath, after two or three imprisonments in the Tower, was permitted to live on his own property at Cobham in Surrey, where the queen, by whom he was greatly respected, occasionally honoured him with a visit. Bonner, after a confinement of ten years, died in the Marshalsea: Watson of Lincoln remained a prisoner twenty-three years, and died in Wisbeach castle. Thirlby of Ely, lived in the custody of archbishop Parker, and Bourne of Bath and Wells, in that of Dr. Carew, dean of Exeter. Turberville of Exeter, and Pool of Peterborough, were suffered to remain at their own houses on their recognisances not to leave them without licence. Feckenham, abbot of Westminster, passed from the Tower to the custody of the bishop of London, then to that of the bishop of Winchester, and was at last confined in Wisbeach castle.

NOTE [I], Page 359.

By mistake this note is again referred to at p. 397, *instead of note* [L].

It may, perhaps, be expected that I should notice a story which was once the subject of acrimonious controversy between the divines of the two communions. It was said that Kitchin, and Scorey, with Parker and the other bishops elect, met in a tavern called the Nag's head, in Cheapside; that Kitchin, on account of a prohibition from Bonner, refused to consecrate them, and that Scorey, therefore, ordering them to kneel down, placed the bible on the head of each, and told him to rise up bishop. The facts that are really known, are the following. The queen, from the beginning of her reign, had designed Parker for the archbishopric. After a long resistance he gave his consent; and a congé d'elire was issued to the dean and chapter, July 18, 1559. He was chosen Aug. 1. On Sept. 9, the queen sent her mandate to Tunstal, Bishop of Durham, Bourne of Bath and Wells, Pool of Peterborough, Kitchin of Llandaff, Barlow, the deprived bishop of Bath under Mary, and Scorey of Chichester, also deprived under Mary, to confirm and consecrate the archbishop elect. (Rym. xv. 541.) Kitchin had conformed: and it was hoped that the other three, who had not been present in parliament, might be induced to imitate his example. All three, however, refused to officiate; and in consequence the oath of supremacy was tendered to them (Rym. xv. 545); and their refusal to take it was followed by deprivation. In these circumstances no consecration took place: but three months later, (Dec. 6) the queen sent a second mandate, directed to Kitchin, Barlow, Scorey, Coverdale the deprived bishop of Exeter under Mary, John suffragan of Bedford, John suffragan of Thetford, and Bale bishop of Ossory, ordering them, or any four of them, to confirm and consecrate the archbishop elect: but with an additional clause, by which she, of her supreme royal authority, supplied whatever deficiency there might be according to the

statutes of the realm, or the laws of the church, either in the acts done by them, or in the person, state, or faculty of any of them, such being the necessity of the case, and the urgency of the time. (Rym. xv. 549.) Kitchin again appears to have declined the office. But Barlow, Scorey, Coverdale, and Hodgskins suffragan of Bedford, confirmed the election on the 9th; and consecrated Parker on the 17th. The ceremony was performed, though with a little variation, according to the ordinal of Edward VI. Two of the consecrators, Barlow and Hodgskins, had been ordained bishops according to the Roman pontifical, the other two according to the reformed ordinal. Wilk. Con. iv. 198.) Of this consecration on the 17th of December, there can be no doubt; perhaps in the interval between the refusal of the catholic prelates, and the performance of the ceremony, some meeting may have taken place at the Nag's head, which gave rise to the story.

NOTE [K], Page 374.

Again referred to, at p. 399, *for note* [M].

Elizabeth's objections to Knox, arose from two causes; his antipathy to the English liturgy, which had been shewn at Frankfort and Geneva; and his doctrine respecting the incapacity of women to exercise the sovereign authority. This he had published in his "First blast of the trumpet against the mon-"strous regiment (government) of women:" to which he had threatened to add two other blasts still more sharp and vehement. In the first, he taught that the rule of a woman was "repugnant to nature, a contumely to God, a thing most con-"trarious to his revealed will and approved ordinance, and "finally the subversion of all equity and justice;" in the second blast he intended to teach, that governors ought to be chosen according to God's ordinance; that no manifest idolator, no notorious transgressor of God's holy word, should be promoted to any regiment; that no oaths nor promises could bind the people

to obey and maintain tyrants against God and his known truth: and that those who had appointed a governor, might lawfully depose and punish him, if he shewed himself unworthy of the regiment over the people of God. Strype, 122. Knox, Hist. 478. At the time of the first blast, Mary of England was alive; nor did he foresee the elevation to the throne of another woman a friend to the reformation. To recover her favour, he acknowledged to her and to Cecil, that she was an exception from the general rule; that her whole life had been a miracle, which proved that she had been chosen by God; that the office, which was unlawful to other women, was lawful to her; and, that on these grounds he was ready to obey, and maintain her authority. Strype, 121. Elizabeth did not suffer herself to be cajoled by the flattery of the apostle, nor persuaded by the policy of Throckmorton, who interceded in his favour. "Considering what "Knokes is hable to do in Scotland, which is very muche, all "this turmoil there being by him stirred as it is, it should stand "your majesty in stede his former faultes were forgotten." Forbes, 130. Cecil was obliged to caution his correspondents, not to mention the name of Knox. "Of all others, Knoxees "name, if it be not Goodman's, is most odiose here; and there-"fore I wish no mention of hym hither." Cecil to Sadler and Croft. (Sadler, i. 532.)

Goodman had been joint minister with Knox at Geneva, and had published, in 1558, his celebrated treatise; "How superior "powers ought to be obeyd, and wherin they may lawfully by "God's worde be disobeyed and resisted." In it he repeated the doctrine of his associate respecting the political incapacity of females, and taught that kings and magistrates might lawfully be deposed and punished by their subjects, if they became wicked or tyrannical. He joined Knox in Scotland; but, though he had many friends, it was long before Elizabeth would allow him to set his foot in England. At his return, he submitted to recant his obnoxious doctrine, first in 1565, and again in 1571. Strype, i. 126. ii. 95, 96.

As soon as Elizabeth ascended the throne, the exiles, after some consultation, appointed Aylmer to appease the queen, by writing in favour of female government against Knox and Goodman. His tract was entitled "An Harborowe for faithful and "trewe subjectes against the late blowne blaste concerning the "government of women. MDLIX. at Strasborowe the 26th of April." This tract made his fortune: the queen gave him preferment in the church, and in due time he was raised to the see of London. In his work he had advised the prelates to be content with "priest-like," and not to seek after "prince-like "fortunes:" but the bishop forgot the lessons of the exile: and being reminded of his doctrine, he replied: "when I was a child "I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a "child: but when I became a man, I put away childish things." 1. Cor. xiii. 2.

NOTE [L], Page 397.

Whitaker, in his vindication of Mary, persuaded himself that he had made an important discovery with respect to this treaty. In a long and laboured note, appended to his third volume (p. 463), he contends, that the treaty is a forgery, executed with the connivance of Cecil and Wotton, for the purpose of depriving Francis and Mary of all real authority within the kingdom of Scotland. The same opinion has been recently maintained, and enforced with additional arguments, by Mr. Chalmers, in his valuable Life of Mary (vol. ii. p. 411). Feeling myself obliged to dissent from these authorities, I may be allowed to state the reasons why I believe in the authenticity of the treaty.

No one acquainted with the real history of the time can, in my opinion, doubt of the following facts: 1°. that an accord or treaty of some description or other was negociated at Edinburgh, between the lords of the congregation and Montluc and Randan, the French commissioners. (See Haynes' State papers, i. 329. 331—341).

2°. That the substance of that treaty, as it was communicated by Cecil and Wotton to Elizabeth (July 6, Haynes, 351), agrees with the articles of the treaty, the authenticity of which is now called in question; and whence it follows that, if the forgery was committed at all, it was committed at the very time, when the real treaty was concluded. (Haynes, 351. 355.)

3°. That within a month afterwards the treaty, now said to be a forgery, was laid before the Scottish parliament, and was acted upon by it as if it were a real treaty. (Keith, 152).

4°. That the same treaty was sent to France by the Lord of St. John's with a request to the king and queen to ratify it as if it were a real treaty. (Keith, ibid. Hardwicke State papers, i. 126.)

5°. That they refused the ratification on the ground that the Scottish lords had not complied with the obligations prescribed by it. (Ibid. 126—138.)

Now these facts seem to me to place the authenticity of the instrument beyond contradiction. Would Cecil and Wotton have dared to deceive their own sovereign by palming on her a spurious in place of a real treaty? Would the fabricators of the supposed forgery have ventured to lay it immediately before the parliament, in which sate many persons both able and interested to detect the fraud? Would they have had the effrontery to ask the ratification of a forgery from the king and queen, who must have had the real treaty in their possession? Or would Francis and Mary have hesitated to ground their refusal of ratification on the fraud, if any fraud had existed? I see not how these questions can be satisfactorily answered in the hypothesis maintained by Whitaker.

But the reader will ask what are the reasons which induced him to pronounce the treaty a forgery? 1°. The originals do not exist either in the archives of France or those of Scotland. How comes it that we have only an attested copy preserved by Cecil? —But surely the non-existence of the originals at present does not prove that they did not exist formerly. As the treaty was not ratified, the originals may have been destroyed by order of Mary.

2°. The commission before the treaty is dated in the sixteenth instead of the eighteenth year of Mary. This anachronism is, in the judgment of Whitaker, a convincing proof of the forgery. To me it appears to prove nothing more than the error of the copyist. Had Cecil and Wotton, or the lord James and Maitland, forged the commission, we may be assured that they would have been careful to date it correctly.

3°. But the commission contradicts itself. On the 2d of June, it orders the ambassadors to proceed to the frontiers of Scotland, though the French ministers must have known that they were already preparing for that journey, in virtue of a previous commission, dated May 2. The answer is easy. The first commission did not empower them to treat with the Scots: to remedy this defect, they wrote for a second commission, and desired it might be sent after them.

The other arguments adduced against the authenticity of the treaty, are all founded on mere conjectures, and appear to me of no force whatever, when opposed to the facts already mentioned.

NOTE [M], Page 399.

By the 13th article, it was stipulated that "if any bishops, "abbots or ecclesiastical persons should make complaint, that they "had received any harm either in their persons or goods, these "complaints should be taken into consideration by the estates in "parliament, and such reparation should be appointed, as to the "said estates might appear reasonable." On this article, Cecil observed at the time, "which reparation me thinketh shall be "light ynough." (Haynes, 356.) So it proved. Numbers of complaints were delivered: but no answer could be procured till the last day of parliament. Then the bishops and abbots were compelled to leave the house, on account of their refusal to subscribe the confession of faith prepared by Knox: at five o'clock, when they were all departed, they were called, and "because na man comparit of the kirkmen, that gaif in thair

" billis of complaint, nor nain for tham to declare in special " quhairin they wer hurt, efter thai war twyse callit upon, the " lordis and nobilitie had don thair dutie conform to the articles " of the peac." (Keith, 151. 488.)

NOTE [N], Page 428.

By the adoption of the thirty-nine articles the seal was put to the reformation in England. A new church was built on the ruins of the old: and it will be the object of this note to point out to the reader how far these churches agreed, how far they disagreed, in their respective creeds.

1°. They both taught that there is but one God, that in the unity of the Godhead are three persons, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost: that the Son took to himself the nature of man; that he offered himself a sacrifice for all sin of man, both original and actual; and that his is the only name whereby man must be saved.

2°. They equally admitted the three symbols, usually denominated the apostles', the Nicene, and the Athanasian creeds.

3°. They equally revered the holy scriptures as the true word of God. But here they began to differ. 1°. Several books of the Jewish scriptures were pronounced apocryphal by the new, while they were admitted as canonical by the old church. 2°. The former maintained that all doctrines, taught by Christ and his apostles, had been recorded in the scriptures; the latter that many things, such as the baptism of infants, the obligation of observing the Sunday instead of the Sabbath, &c., had been taught by Christ or his apostles, and yet had not been recorded in the scriptures, but were known only by tradition.

4°. Both agreed that " the church hath a right to decree rites " and ceremonies, and hath authority in controversies of faith;" but the articles seemed to nullify this authority by restrictions. The church could decide nothing but what is contained in the scriptures; could not assemble in general council without the

command and will of princes; and when so assembled, was liable to err, and had actually erred. The old church allowed not such authority to princes, and maintained that Christ, according to his promises in the scripture, would so watch over his church assembled in general council, as not to suffer it to fall into any essential error, either in faith or discipline.

5°. Both equally required vocation and mission in their ministers; and both intrusted the government of the church to bishops, as the highest order in the hierarchy. But the whole church, while it admitted no ecclesiastical authority in the prince as prince, acknowledged in the bishop of Rome, as successor of St. Peter, a primacy of order and jurisdiction throughout the universal church: the new refused to the bishop of Rome any jurisdiction within the realm, and considered the sovereign as supreme, even in ecclesiastical government.

6°. Both equally taught that the justification of the sinner cannot be acquired or deserved by any natural effort, and that it is given gratis on account of the merits of Christ; but in this they differed, or perhaps seemed to differ, that the one inculcated justification by faith only, the other, in addition to faith, required both hope and charity.

7°. That the sacraments are efficacious signs of grace, by which God worketh invisibly in us, was taught by both: but the seven sacraments of the catholics,—viz. baptism, confirmation, eucharist, penance, holy order, extreme unction, and matrimony, were by the articles reduced to two,—viz. baptism and the eucharist.

8°. The most important points, in which they differed, regarded the eucharist. The English reformers taught, that in the sacrament "the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten, "only after a heavenly and spiritual manner:" the catholics, "after a real though spiritual and sacramental manner:" the former declared, that the doctrine of transubstantiation could not be proved from the words of scripture; the latter, that it necessarily followed from the words of scripture—the first, that

the communion ought to be administered to laymen under both kinds, according to the institution and the command of Christ; the others, that communion under both kinds does not follow from the institution, and is not prescribed by the command of Christ.

9°. By the articles the mass was pronounced a blasphemous forgery, on the ground that there can be no other sacrifice for sin, than that which was offered upon the cross; according to the catholics, the mass is a true propitiatory sacrifice, commemorative of that formerly offered on the cross.

10° The articles condemned, but in general terms, and without any explanation, the doctrines of—1, purgatory; 2, pardons; 3, the veneration and adoration of relicts and images; and 4, the invocation of the saints. The catholics taught—1° that the souls of men who depart this life, neither so wicked as to deserve the punishment of hell, nor so pure as to be admitted there, "where nothing defiled can enter," are immediately after death placed in a state of purgation: 2°. that pardons of the temporal punishment of sin, called indulgences, are useful and to be retained; 3°. that it is lawful to shew an inferior respect or veneration to the remains of holy persons, and to the images of Christ and his saints: 4°. that it is also lawful to solicit the departed saints to join their prayers with ours, "to beg for us benefits from God through his Son Jesus "Christ, our only saviour and redeemer." Con. Trid. Sess. xxv.

NOTE [O], Page 442.

1. By act of parliament the crown had been limited to the three children of Henry VIII., Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth, and failing them, to such persons as the king, by his last will, signed with his own hand, should appoint.

2. After his death, a will purporting to be his, was produced: and by it the succession was limited, after the heirs of his own children, to the heirs of his second sister Mary, wife of the duke of Suffolk, to the exclusion of the heirs of his eldest sister,

Margaret, married first to James, king of Scotland, and afterwards to Archibald, earl of Angus.

3. Considerable doubt was entertained of the authenticity of the will attributed to Henry. Under Mary it was pronounced spurious by the privy council: by Elizabeth it was never suffered to be mentioned.

4. By hereditary descent, Mary of Scotland was the next claimant, as the representative of her grandmother, Margaret, and after her the countess of Lennox, as the daughter of the same Margaret, by her second husband, the earl of Angus.

5. The protestants dreaded the succession of Mary, on account of her religion. To remove her, it was contended that by the law of England, no person born of foreign parents, and in a foreign realm, could inherit in England: and therefore that, as she came under this description, being born in Scotland, and the daughter of king James and Mary of Lorrain, the succession belonged to the next of blood, the countess of Lennox, whose mother was an English woman, and who had been born in England. To this it was victoriously answered, that the law in question was confined to private inheritances, and did not regard the succession to the crown.

6. The partisans of the house of Suffolk maintained that the objection was valid; and that it applied not only to the Scottish queen, but also to the countess of Lennox. They argued that, when the father and mother were of different conditions, the child followed the father; and that as he was a foreigner, his daughter was a foreigner too: nor did it matter that she was born at Harbottle in England, for the earl and his wife did not dwell here as subjects to the king, but were merely strangers on their passage through the kingdom.

7. Elizabeth herself would give no opinion, nor suffer others to give any opinion, on these pretensions. Sensible of the insecurity of her own claim, she looked with a jealous eye on all who had any pretensions to the succession, and seemed to fear that, if the right were decided in favour of any person, that person might supersede her on the throne.

8. Mary, from whom the house of Suffolk claimed, left two daughters, Frances and Eleanor. Of the three daughters of Frances, one only, by name Catharine, left issue. She was first married to the eldest son of the earl of Pembroke, and afterwards divorced from him. In August, 1561, it was perceived that she was pregnant. She declared that she had been married privately to Edward Seymour, earl of Hertford; but was committed by Elizabeth to the Tower, who pretended to believe that "since the death of the lady Jane (her sister) she had been "privie to many great practices and purposes," Haynes, 369; though Cecil asserts that he could find nothing in it. A child was born: (1561. Aug. 17.) Hertford was sent for from France: and the queen ordered the archbishop to enquire into the validity of their union. "Nobody appeared privy to the "marriage, nor to the love, but maids," (Hardwicke papers, i. 177) and the archbishop pronounced them both guilty of an illicit intercourse, and ordered them to be punished according to the queen's pleasure. (1562. Feb.) The lady Catharine was still kept in confinement: but Hertford again found access to her, and she was delivered of another child in the Tower. He had appealed from the sentence of the archbishop, and maintained that the marriage was valid: but was now called before the star-chamber, fined in the sum of 5000*l.*, and kept in custody for the space of nine years. She also continued a prisoner till her death. Camden, 89, 90.

Hales, clerk of the hanaper, was the legal adviser of Hertford. In his zeal to serve his client, he committed himself so far as to write a book, in which he attempted to prove the claim of the house of Suffolk to the succession, and that of course the next heir was the lady Catharine. Cecil, from motives of policy or interest, supported, as far as he durst, the same opinion: Bacon was less cautious, and even assisted Hales. The queen sent the latter to the Tower; and to shew her displeasure to Bacon, excluded him from the council, and ordered him to confine himself to the business of the chancery.

If the succession were in the house of Suffolk, it undoubtedly belonged to the lady Catharine, as representative of her mother, the eldest daughter of the French queen. In parliament, however, there appeared a party which supported the claim of Margaret, married to Ferdinando Stanley, son of the earl of Derby, as the representative of the lady Eleanor, her mother, who was second daughter of the French queen. On what ground this party excluded the lady Catharine, I know not.

There was another party in parliament which maintained the exclusion of the issue of Margaret, the Scottish queen, for the reasons already alleged; and also the exclusion of the issue of Mary, the French queen, because, as they asserted, she could not be the lawful wife of the duke of Suffolk, he having at the time a lawful wife living, of the name of Mortimer (Haynes, 412). Hence they sought the true heir among the descendants of the house of York, and fixed on the earl of Huntingdon, sprung from George, duke of Clarence, brother to Edward IV. His mother was daughter to lord Montague, and grand-daughter to the countess of Salisbury, executed by Henry VIII. The very mention of a successor alarmed the jealousy of Elizabeth; and the earl, fearful of becoming the object of her displeasure, wrote to the earl of Leicester, maintaining his own loyalty, and soliciting the protection of that favourite. See the letter in the Hardwicke papers, i. 187.

NOTE [P], Page 479.

From a contemporary drawing in the Paper-office, a print of which has been given by Mr. Chalmers, i. 204, it appears that the house of Kirk-o'-field was not so solitary as has been represented. It stood on one side of a large quadrangular court. Of the other three sides, that on the left hand was occupied by an extensive building, probably Hamilton house; that on the right by seven small cottages. The opposite side presented a dead wall.

The only apartments of the house which are mentioned, are a gallery, in which the servants slept, the king's bed-chamber,

the queen's bed-chamber immediately under it, a kitchen and a cellar. Into the latter a door opened through the town wall. It was locked, and the key was retained by the owner of the house.

From this description, and the fact that the building was destroyed even to "the grund-stone," it is natural to conclude that the powder was introduced through the outer door into the cellar. But a very different story is told in the confessions of those who were executed.

If we believe these instruments, the powder was conveyed on horseback on the evening of the murder, between the hours of ten and eleven, from Bothwell's lodgings in Holyrood house, by the Netherbow, up the high street, and down Blackfriars' wynd, to the door which led into the garden of the Blackfriars. This was done twice, as there was too great a quantity for one horse load. It was then poured out of the trunks into bags, carried through the garden and over the wall, which separated the garden from the Kirk-o'-field, to the back door of the house. There it was found that an empty barrel, which the conspirators had also brought with them, was too large for admission. They left it without, and poured the powder in a heap on the floor of the queen's bed-chamber.

1°. Now the space of an hour, the time allotted for all this, seems much too short; particularly if we consider that the distance was nearly a mile, which, with the returns, made the space travelled over by the horse alone equal to almost four miles.

2°. It is difficult to conceive how, in this case, the conspirators could escape detection. They could not pass the Netherbow four times without being seen and remarked by the sentinels; and as they led the horse four times through the most frequented streets of the city, they must have been met by some of the inhabitants. Then at Kirk-o'-field itself they would incur considerable danger, as the queen with several noblemen was there, and their servants were in waiting to conduct them back by torch light.

3°. The confessions were not voluntary: they were wrung from the prisoners by torture, before their trials. On such occasions men are often willing to give any answers which may be desired.

4°. Powric's first confession is contradicted by his second. In the first he has two horses, and makes one journey; in the second he has but one horse, and makes two journeys.

On these accounts I am inclined to refuse credit to these confessions; at the same time, I must own that I cannot assign any adequate cause for the falsehood. Certainly the object could not have been to connect Mary with the murder: for the confessions do not accuse her—nor to divert the public attention from the real mine in the cellar; for the first confession was made four months after the murder, and the others much later. It is a difficulty which I cannot solve.

Besides these confessions made under torture, the unhappy men spoke to the spectators at their execution. "We can tell "you," says the bishop of Ross, addressing the king's lords, "and so can five thousand and more of their own hearing, that "John Hepburn did openly cry and testify, as he should answer "to the contrary before God, that you were principal authors, "counsellors, and assisters with his master (Bothwell) of this "infamous murder, and that his said master told him so: we "can tell you that Hay, Powric, Dalgleish, and Paris, took God "to record at the time of their death, that this murder was by "your counsel, invention, and drift committed, who also declared "that they never knew the queen to be participant or aware "thereof." Anderson, i. 76, 77. Mr. Laing boldly asserts all this to be falsehood; I do not see how he proves it.

END OF VOL. VII.

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